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An investigation of cooperative consciousness-raising as an innovative teaching practice, and of reactions to its introduction into a high school

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OF REACTIONS TO ITS INTRODUCTION
INTO A HIGH SCHOOL

A Dissertation

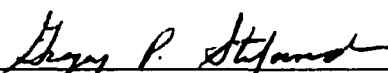
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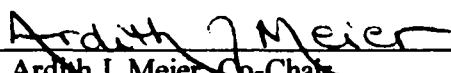
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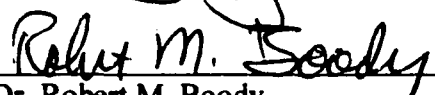
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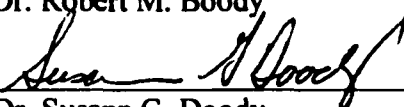
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An Abstract of a Dissertation

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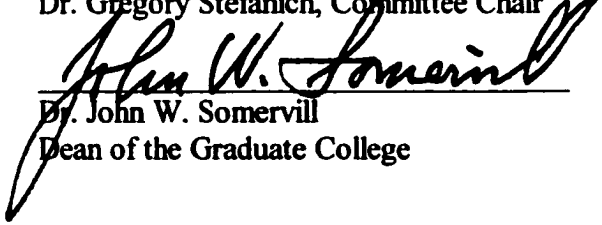
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ABSTRACT

The language pedagogy literature stresses the importance of the quality of second/foreign language teaching/learning in learners' acquisition, development of communicative competence, or both. The change literature equally emphasizes the importance of the quality of innovation in change audience's resolution to re-conceptualize current practices and espouse the new practice being advocated. Both literatures underline the need to use multiple research strategies in order to depict the product and process of learning and/or shifting experiences. To contribute to the educational literature in these areas, the present research incorporated two different but interrelated studies.

Study One utilized both between- and within-method approaches (Denzin, 1978) to investigate the (in)effectiveness of cooperative consciousness-raising, an innovative teaching practice, to affect English as a foreign language learners' pragmatic competence in the target language as compared to a traditional method of English instruction. This (in)effectiveness was measured by means of researcher-designed two-part English Achievement Test and five-point-Likert type Student and Teacher Attitude Questionnaire instruments.

Results of *t* test analysis of quantitative data obtained from the responses of 28 out of the initial 40 students in the cooperative consciousness-raising group and 27 out of the 40 initial students in the traditional group indicated that the former scored significantly better than the latter in the three American English requestive behavior abilities being assessed. Qualitative data obtained support the quantitative findings.

Results of *t* test analysis obtained from the ratings of 14 Student Questionnaire items by 18 available students in the experimental group and of 15 questionnaire items by their English teacher showed that students' attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice, compared to the traditional method of instruction, were significantly more positive. Similarly, statistical analysis results obtained from teacher ratings of 7 Teacher Questionnaire items indicated that the English teacher's attitude toward the new practice was more positive than toward her traditional teaching method. Qualitative data obtained from rating justifications indicated that these informants' more favorable attitudes toward the innovative teaching practice were connected to four interrelated categories including cognitive, affective, social, and general.

An investigation of school personnel's reactions to the introduction of the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice in Study Two revealed that their resolution to embrace it was not solely informed by its technical effectiveness. The four interconnected major themes that emerged from both outsider and insider perspectives of data analyses and interpretations indicated the critical role played by a complex interplay among their social and personal reality systems in decision making, shifting change process, or both.

It was concluded that the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice is more technically-sound than the traditional method of instruction. The innovation technical rationale is essential to arouse change audience's concerns about their teaching

practices and help them engage in the innovation adoption. Equally critical is its social soundness in order to better assist individual targets of change in their personal growth.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A recurring theme in the education literature among researchers and practitioners concerns ideal learning conditions (Talmage, Pascarella, & Ford, 1984). Today, teaching and learning desperately need revitalization (Fullan, 1991). By requiring learners to passively memorize information imparted by teachers, current instructional techniques used in most schools, indeed, fail to address students' needs (Darling-Hammond, 1993; Haberman, 1997; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1993; Kamii, 1996). Novel teaching/learning practices which enable students to actively participate in the learning process are needed to equip them with tools that they will need in their future lives (Cohen, 1994; Darling-Hammond, 1993; Johnson et al., 1993; Slavin, 1995).

This desperate need for new teaching practices is echoed in the second/foreign language literature. Rapid growth in economic exchanges and social mobility at the international level has resulted in language learners' new needs to function in a second language for economic and social purposes (Fantini, 1995; Gaies, 1985). Current language classroom practices, however, do not seem to meet this goal due to language teachers' general tendency to overlook students as valuable learning resources (Gaies, 1985) and the cultural dimension of language (Fantini, 1995). Language learners' active involvement and the use of the target language and student awareness of the link between culture and language can facilitate, accelerate language acquisition and communicative competence, or both.

These recurring calls for optimal learning conditions in both the education and language pedagogy literatures reveal a need for a change in “how we think and what we believe” (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. xii). This change “requires a rethinking of our most common, entrenched, and fundamental educational beliefs, structures, practices, and behaviors.” We need “to first change” before we have “a right to request others in the system to entertain or consider change” (Weins, 1992, cited in Sergiovanni, 1994, p. xii). We need “a remedy for the disastrous consequences of... the inertia of established systems,” which, with their compartmentalized characteristics, leave it up to students to make the syntheses themselves (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973, p. 29). At both the university and secondary levels, it “is necessary for the minds of the instructors themselves to become less and less compartmentalized” (p. 31) by approaching their subjects or fields from “a constantly interdisciplinary point of view” (p. 29). This means that we must be “educational leaders first,” that is, “teachers in everything we do—our directions must reflect educational purposes and our actions must be pedagogical and educative” (Weins, 1992, cited in Sergiovanni, 1994, pp. xii-xiii). Expanding, for school change to occur, it is necessary for teacher educators to model and first embrace change before they have a right to require practicing teachers to entertain or consider change. It is necessary for the minds of teacher educators to become more flexible. Teacher educators must engage in the syntheses of literature via a multidisciplinary approach, and develop viable teaching/learning practices before they have a right to require practicing teachers to do so. This research attempted to address this expectation: It synthesized the education, second/foreign language pedagogy, cross-cultural communication, and anthropology

literatures to generate an innovative teaching practice, cooperative consciousness-raising, a multidisciplinary practice for both in-service staff development and the teaching of the speech act of request to English as a foreign language (EFL) learners at a high school in Madagascar.

Research Chronology

This dissertation is based on years of search, research, and a longstanding personal concern for how to best serve learners. It was triggered by apparent compartmentalization within- and between university departments or fields, and a lack of instructor models of what is being advocated in the research literature. The between-department or field compartmentalization generally results in perceived misinformation imparted in some classes due to a failure to consider research already undertaken in other fields. The same compartmentalization leads to a perceived failure to model teaching practices based on a multidisciplinary approach. Added to this, the within-department compartmentalization reveals that instructors seem to overlook each other's expertise or work. All of these appeared to convey that students are those that are assumed to make the syntheses, as Piaget (1948/1972/1973) contends, and find out how to generate an integrated curriculum on their own once in or back to the teaching field due to a lack of instructor models.

The same compartmentalization is reflected in the literature, especially regarding the teaching of pragmatics to second/foreign language learners. The area of pragmatics, or "the study of how utterances have meaning in situations" (Leech, 1983, Preface), includes the link between language and culture (Damen, 1987). Awareness of this link

accelerates the development of language learners' communicative competence (Long, 1990). On the one hand, consciousness-raising (Sharwood-Smith, 1981) is believed and has been found to be effective in raising such awareness in language learners (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig, et al., 1991; Cohen, 1986; Long, 1990; Olshtain & Cohen, 1990). On the other hand, cooperative learning techniques are believed and have been found able to yield multiple positive learning outcomes (Gaies, 1985; Johnson et al., 1993; Slavin, 1991, 1995). Although both practices are believed or have been found to actively engage language students in the learning process and to facilitate or accelerate their language development, the failure of the second/foreign language pedagogy literature to offer a teaching practice that integrates both into a teaching practice to maximize learning outcomes appears to reveal an unfortunate within-field compartmentalization. This has resulted in a gap in the language pedagogy literature, a gap that this research attempted to fill to inform practicing teachers about a way to integrate the curriculum and assist them in their demanding work conditions.

A closer look at the second/foreign language pedagogy literature related to the teaching of language and culture and the use of consciousness-raising in that respect indicates a more unfortunate sign of compartmentalization even among those that advocate it. Indeed, concerns communicated in the form of warning against, debates about the use of a prescriptive approach for the teaching of language and culture via consciousness-raising, and suggestions of contradicting approaches for the teaching of pragmatics point to a lack of shared meaning regarding its goal and the means to attain this goal (e.g., see Bentahila & Davies, 1989; Wildner-Bassett, 1994). This lack of

shared meaning has resulted in a gap in the literature, a gap caused by the failure of the second/foreign language literature to offer a foundational framework for the design of a consciousness-raising technique to be used in language classroom practices. Apparently, this failure is related to between-field compartmentalization. According to Ornstein and Hunkins (1993), two leading curriculum experts, “attending to design questions allows us to consider the philosophical and learning theories to determine if we are basing our arrangements of the curriculum on something that has a rational basis” (p. 232). Failure to do so can create inconsistencies among the nature of the topic/subject matter, objectives, evaluation, and delivery method. If becoming aware is “a reconstruction on a superior, conscious level of elements already organized in a different way on an inferior, unconscious level,” then, it entails a complex process of modification and reorganization (Piaget, 1977, p. 67). Given that such a process involves an active role on the part of the subject who is becoming aware, originating from within him/her, rather than from outside, and given that the generally agreed suggestion on making of language classrooms fields of ethnographic explorations for the teaching of language and culture (Kramsch, 1993) defies the use of prescriptive teaching approaches, warning against and debates about the use of a prescriptive approach to raise language learners’ awareness become irrelevant and would only confuse pre- and in-service language teachers. To alleviate this confusion and to lessen within- and between-field compartmentalization, this research used Piaget’s developmental theory as the primary foundational framework of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice being investigated. This is to “allow

university as well as secondary-school students to pass freely from one section to another and give them the choice of many combinations” (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973, p. 31).

The Research

This research utilized both within- and between- method approaches (Denzin, 1978) in order to collect both quantitative and qualitative data from multiple data sources. Initially, it involved the following two studies: Study One was to investigate the (in)effectiveness of cooperative consciousness-raising, an innovative teaching practice, regarding the following: (a) to raise EFL learners’ awareness of the link between language and culture as measured by students’ performances and attitudes, as well as their teacher’s attitude toward the innovative practice and the traditional method of instruction in their regular class, and (b) to raise secondary teachers’ awareness of inconsistencies or weaknesses, or both, in their teaching practices. Study Two was to explore attitudes of students and teachers of the Malagasy language and history-geography toward cooperative learning (i.e., jigsaw) and the traditional methods in their respective regular classes. Also included in both studies were an investigation of classroom interactions and a follow-up. As such, the initial research involved nine research questions (see Appendix A).

The research had to be redefined due to unexpected findings: Perceived participants’ resistance to the innovation implementation prevented the initial Study Two from being pursued. This is because “in the real world whatever is taught is filtered through and mediated by the personal meanings that learners bring to the setting and this contributes to a kind of unpredictability in terms of outcomes” (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 80).

Consequently, one question in the initial Study One was abandoned and Study Two was replaced by an investigation of reactions of school personnel to the introduction of the innovative teaching practice into their school, that is, an investigation of the human dimension or personal meanings of the innovation. Further, the follow-up phase was also abandoned due to budget constraints.

Research Questions

Study One focused on five research questions. Study Two involved one research question.

Study One

1. How do students' abilities to identify differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors differ as a function of instructional method?
2. How do students' abilities to relate differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities differ as a function of instructional method?
3. How do students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American requestive behaviors in different contexts differ as a function of instructional method?
4. What are English students' attitudes toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?
5. What is the English teacher's attitude toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?

Study Two

6. How do participating school personnel react to innovation introduction?

Limitations

This section presents limitations of the present research.

Study One

Originally, Study One included a research question aimed at the investigation of classroom interaction. Lack of appropriate electronic device and reluctance of the English teacher to be observed in her regular classes made it impossible. Also, the English teacher failed to record information in her diary due to apparent anxiety. Further, the content of the English Student Training had to be modified due to students' very low knowledge level and perceived fear to speak and participate during the first training sessions. Lastly, the planned number of training and implementation hours had to be increased due to delays caused by extensive unplanned discussions, local characteristics, and customs.

Mortality

There was a student dropout rate of about 30% from each of the experimental and control group due to death, family responsibilities, sickness, and unexpected national exam schedule changes. Another cause might be a feeling of insecurity or discomfort on the part of the experimental group learners due to their unfamiliarity with the active roles they had to play in the treatment class. Indeed, the majority of the learners had not had group work experience and had spoken very little or no English prior to the study.

Definitions of Terms

For the purpose of this research study, the following definitions will be used:

Attitude: "Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor. Psychological tendency refers to a state that is internal to the person. Evaluating refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavior" (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, p. 1). Therefore, attitude refers to people's thoughts, feelings or emotions, actions (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) and beliefs, or values, (Henerson, Morris, Fitz-Gibbon, 1987) toward an object of evaluation.

Request: A request is an act in which the speaker attempts to get the hearer to perform a future action. The hearer has a choice in complying or not complying with the request (Searle, 1969).

Traditional method: The term "traditional method" refers to whole group instruction in which the teacher "is a kind of absolute ruler in control of moral and intellectual truth over each individual student" (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973, p. 108). Within a traditional classroom, there is a tendency to consider students as members of a homogeneous group with undifferentiated abilities, motivation, learning styles, and interests. Therefore, instruction is aimed at a hypothetical average student and addresses only the needs of a few, leaving the majority unattended (Glasser, 1985). It is based on the assumption that learning process can be identified, and to some extent controlled. It presumes that curriculum can be designed based on a "behaviorist reductionistic" learning process (Ornstein & Hunkins, 1993, p. 196). Within a traditional language classroom, teacher

lectures and talk dominate. Also, the teacher sets correctness standards, and emphasis is on grammatical accuracy. Little or no collaboration between students and the teacher and among students exists during the learning process (Gaies, 1985).

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Instruction is concerned with how people learn, that is, it deals with psychological foundations and with methods, materials, and media. It takes place in the classroom setting as opposed to the curriculum, which entails the entire school (Oliva, 1992). Instructional design refers to the potential experiences for students. Thus, it shapes teaching methods and activities that can be used to facilitate the learning of content through the engagement of learners in the learning process (Doll, 1992). Design decisions need to consider a theoretical framework consistent with the designer's philosophical and learning theories as a rational basis for the arrangements of curriculum components being selected (Ornstein & Hunkins, 1993). Within the area of second/foreign language learning, the design of an instructional unit further necessitates considerations of a theory or theories of language and of language learning that underlie the selected teaching practice to be used in a classroom setting (Richards & Rodgers, 1986).

The present literature review contemplates these considerations for the design of curricular packages for both the training of Malagasy high school personnel in jigsaw techniques and teaching of American requestive behaviors to Malagasy learners of English. The first three sections presents literature components shared by both package designs entitled "Shared Literature." The next four sections review the literature related to the learners' package entitled "Language Learning Literature."

Shared Literature

This section outlines the literature shared by both school personnel and student cooperative consciousness-raising packages utilized for the present research. It includes the following: (a) theory of developmental psychology, (b) cooperative learning, and (c) Malagasy cultural values/beliefs.

Theory of Developmental Psychology

A theory of developmental psychology is based on the premise that human growth entails cognitive, social, psychological, and physical dimensions. Piaget's (1964, 1969, 1948/1972/1973, 1977) developmental theory falls in this category. It assumes that the full development of personality consists of the development of a human being as an indivisible whole whose components are interrelated and influence each other. At the core of Piaget's theory is the concept of intelligence. "Intelligence is adaptation in its highest form, the balance between a continuous assimilation of things to activity proper and the accommodation of those assimilative schemata to things themselves" (1969, p. 158). Three interrelated processes form its foundation: assimilation, accommodation, and equilibration.

Assimilation is a process of integration. It consists in integrating new experiences into existing schemata. As such, this process presupposes instruments for the experience integration to be possible. The subject needs to possess a well-developed structure in order to assimilate the input from outside.

The process of accommodation entails creation of new schemata or modification of existing schemata. It is an adaptation in response to environment. For example, when

facing a new situation, the subject has to organize and modify his/her internal structures in order to accommodate to the situation.

The process of equilibration has the function of achieving balance between assimilation and accommodation. It thus has a regulatory role. This is so because knowledge is always created via the interaction of assimilation and accommodation. In other words, it is equilibrium between the subject and the objects of the knowledge.

Piaget's theory is based on the premise that the subject constructs knowledge through trial and error and by self-regulation, or equilibration. Equilibration is of three kinds. First, there is equilibrium between the subject's structures and the objects by which process, his/her structures accommodate to the objects presented in a situation, and these objects are assimilated into the structures. The second kind of equilibration concerns the subsystems of the subject's structures: The schemes of assimilation are coordinated into subsystems which can present conflicts among themselves. These conflicts need to be resolved through an equilibration of the subsystems, and coordination needs to take place. The third equilibration concerns parts and the totality of the subject's knowledge. There has to be a constant equilibration between these two: A differentiation of the totality of knowledge into the parts and a reintegration of the parts into the totality of knowledge need to take place.

To Piaget, knowledge is acquired by the subject rather than transmitted to him. New experiences are constructed based on previous ones. That is, new operations are constructed on previous operations. This is key to Piaget's developmental theory: Production and conservation are "absolutely inseparable" (1977, p. 12). This is so

because for production to occur, some kind of transformation has to take place.

Conservation, or something that remains unchanged, has to occur for transformation to take place. Knowledge development is based on these two inseparable key concepts.

“To know an object is to act on it, to transform the object and to understand the process of this transformation, and as a consequence to understand the way the object is constructed” (1964, p. 228). An operation is therefore a set of actions that modify the objects and enable the subject to arrive at the structures of transformation. For him/her to arrive at the structures of transformation, there need to be previous operations that remain unchanged and on which new operations can be built. An operation, indeed, is never isolated: It is always connected to other operations.

To Piaget, conservation does not exist without production, and production with conservation triggers a continuous necessity for new construction. This is because of a constant search for better self-regulation: When production results from conservation, other elements are affected. These affected elements need to be integrated into the process of transformation for equilibrium, and the resulted production becomes conservation in turn. Also, Piaget’s developmental process concerns the totality of the knowledge structures. Each learning element occurs as a function of development. In other words, development is not a cumulative sum or a collection of bits of learning. Learning elements need to be integrated into the whole structure in order for them to be elements of learning. It is “a cycle of interactions among the different [but interrelated] elements” of a system, a system that is “open to influences from outside” in that each of its elements can interact with objects in the outside world, although the system as a

totality is closed and “presents a cohesive force” and is “completely coherent” for it to be able to both integrate and differentiate new elements (p. 13). It follows that “equilibration is the search for a better and better equilibrium in the sense of an extended field, in the sense of an increase in the number of possible compositions, and in the sense of a growth in coherence” (1977, p. 12).

Piaget’s developmental process applies to three interrelated major components: cognitive, sociomoral, and emotional. The cognitive component relates to the interaction of the subject with objects in his/her environment. It concerns physical knowledge, that is, knowledge of the physical world. Cognitive mechanisms depend on structures. The emotional component concerns feelings. The quality of interactions among people is a key determinant of its development. Affective mechanisms depend on energy and affective factors play a critical role in accelerating or retarding cognitive development. The sociomoral component concerns interpersonal relations. It relates to experiences with people. Social knowledge entails knowledge of norms and conventions and is based on agreement among people. Moral knowledge involves knowledge of good and bad with regard conduct. It is thus based on decisions made via considerations of various points of view and regulations of behavior for common benefit. Therefore, sociomoral development is enhanced by experiences with interactions among people: Mutual respect and cooperation are “ideals of equilibrium” (Piaget, 1965/1966, p. 96) and social reality “has rational and moral organization” (p. 70). Therefore, Piaget refutes coercion.

To Piaget, becoming aware involves a process for which “some elements at the unconscious level are raised to the conscious level,” that is, “a reconstruction on a

superior, conscious level of elements already organized in a different way on an inferior, unconscious level" (1977, p. 67). It comprises a functional aspect and structural process. For the functional aspect, awareness is needed when there is inadequate functioning caused by difficulties: The subject needs to consciously adjust his/her actions to the situation. This adjustment presupposes choosing between two or more alternatives. For the structural process, "awareness is a conceptual reconstruction": Conceptual systems are reconstructed or reorganized based on existing structures and the set of laws of transformation that apply to the system as a whole to allow "incompatible facts to be incorporated and contradictions to be resolved" (Piaget, 1977, p. 68). Thus, the structural process is a self-regulating process whereby re-conceptualization is necessary or even inevitable for adequate functioning.

In sum, Piaget's theory of development puts an emphasis on knowledge construction and reconstruction. It assumes an active role of learners. Understanding does not occur without inventing. Experiences within the environment play a critical role in individuals' cognitive, sociomoral, and emotional development. Underpinning Piaget's developmental theory is the development of the learner as an indivisible and coherent whole, the development of which is based on the interaction between assimilation and accommodation via the process of equilibration.

Major implications of Piaget's developmental theory include the following: (a) Learners, as actors in the construction of their knowledge, need to actively participate in the learning process; (b) When going through this process which entails trial and error, they are likely to make errors. Therefore, errors should not be considered as causes of

punishment; (c) Learning experiences should assist them in using their existing knowledge, formal and informal, to facilitate the knowledge construction; (d) Interactions with the environment are key elements in learners' knowledge construction and growth. Learners need to be able to interact with people and objects of learning. This will also allow them to socially, emotionally, and morally grow; (e) Learning should be concerned with the totality of their knowledge as it is this totality that makes it possible for them to integrate learning elements. This will allow them to form a coherent whole in which subparts and smaller elements are in congruence with the totality and with each other; (f) Coercive teaching behaviors should be avoided as much as possible as they can inhibit learners' growth; and (g) Awareness requires inadequate functioning to provoke a self-regulating process. Alternatives are needed to facilitate re-conceptualization.

These key elements were used to inform the cooperative consciousness-raising practice packages in the present research. They are reflected in cooperative learning as a delivery method.

Cooperative Learning

Cooperative language teaching and learning practices are based on the premises that a low-anxiety classroom is more likely to support learning (Aronson, 1997). As such, these practices are social interventions (Slavin, 1995). There exist various forms of cooperative learning practices. What they have in common is that they all involve learners working together in small groups to learn academic materials so that they are responsible for one another's learning and their own (Slavin, 1991). Jigsaw is one form

of cooperative learning designed by Aronson, Blaney, Stephan, Sikes, and Snapp (1978). It involves two types of group: the jigsaw and the expert groups.

Learners are assigned to or choose a group or team of three to seven members to work on material that has been coherently divided into smaller segments. No one member of a jigsaw group has the same segment on which to work. This is to provide for maximum interdependence among group members in that each learner will have access to other segments of the lesson only through other members (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997).

Members of different jigsaw groups who have identical sections meet in expert groups in order to become experts in it. They work on everything that can help each member understand the material as well as on presentation strategies. Learners then join their jigsaw group. Each teaches his/her material to the whole group. Material sharing fosters cognitive elaboration and helps learners understand the materials from multiple perspectives. Further, discussions enhance problem-solving skills (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). Other benefits of cooperative learning techniques include learners' intellectual growth, a deeper understanding of the material, commitment among class members (Simpson, 1994) and interpersonal relations (McManus & Kirby, 1988). That is, cooperative learning practices can yield positive results regarding intellectual, emotional, and sociomoral development.

Cooperative learning lesson plans are based on the following key elements:

1. Knowledge is constructed, discovered, transformed, and extended by learners. Teachers create the conditions within which students can construct meaning from the material studied by processing it through existing cognitive structures and then retain it in long-term memory where it remains open to further processing and possible reconstruction or reorganization.
2. Students actively construct their own knowledge. Learning is conceived of as

something a learner does, not something that is done to a learner. Students do not accept knowledge from the teacher or curriculum. Students activate their existing cognitive structures or construct new ones to subsume the new input.

3. Teacher effort is aimed at developing students' competencies and talents...

Students' competencies and talents are developed under the assumption that with effort and education, any student can improve.

4. Education is a personal transaction among students and between the teachers and students as they work together. All education is a social process that cannot occur except through interpersonal interaction (real or implied). Learning is a personal but social process that results when individuals cooperate to construct shared understandings and knowledge. (Johnson et al., 1993, pp. 10:4-10:5)

In sum, cooperative learning considers interconnections among cognitive, affective, and social elements of education. It is a best candidate as a delivery method within a Piagetian framework.

Malagasy Cultural Values/Beliefs

Both participating teachers and students in the present research were Malagasy. It is necessary to consider their cultural values/beliefs given the learner-centered characteristics of the foundational framework adopted for the design of the packages for both types of participants. As noted above, Piaget's theory comprises a sociomoral development which is enhanced via interactions based on mutual respect and cooperation. "Language--means of expression for collective values,"--logic, and ethics are "strictly necessary for the mental development" (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973, p. 48). Knowledge of learners' values will enable educators to respect and cooperate with them during interactions, because, as Fantini (1995) claims, perception and interpretation of the world are culturally shaped and linguistically encoded. Thus, such knowledge will at least allow awareness of learners' world view and facilitate learning assistance. Also, given that new knowledge is constructed on existing knowledge, and given that conservation is

needed for transformation to take place (Piaget, 1977), cultural values/beliefs of the participants in the present research were conserved in the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice under investigation to allow re-conceptualization or knowledge construction to occur. These values/beliefs are reviewed in this section.

A major feature of Malagasy social norms is “avoidance of direct affront” (Keenan, 1974, p. 126): Directly confronting an individual and intentionally putting him/her in an uncomfortable or unpleasant situation are violations of this social expectation. Included in direct confrontational behaviors are the following: Direct insults, offensive conducts that can cause shame or *henatra* to others, catching individuals off-guard (without warning), open and direct expressions of anger, explicit accusations, explicit disrespect for others, direct blame, singling oneself or others out from a group, and explicit criticisms, among others.

Violators of the norm of confrontation avoidance are regarded as dishonoring themselves and *stealing* or *taking* honor away from their family or community (Keenan, 1974). Indeed, in the name of the *fihavanana*, a form of kinship of “moral relations” (Bloch, 1989, p. 172) and “personal kinship loyalties” (Allen, 1995, p. 130), the rest of the family or community “must share the responsibility” for norm violators’ acts and any negative consequences that may result (Keenan, 1974, p. 130). Therefore, violations of the norm of confrontation avoidance are subject to “public censure” (p. 127).

Public censure can have various forms and varying degrees depending on the violation and violator (e.g., an adult or a child). It can include the following: Reprimand,

isolation/rejection/exclusion, gossips/derision, scolding, and disrespect, among others (Keenan, 1974).

Multiple indirectness strategies are available to Malagasy speakers to conform to the norm of direct confrontation avoidance. These strategies are used in relation to the situation, conversational topics, and the relationship between interlocutors. They include but not limited to the use of the following: Proverbs, poetry, expressions, metaphors, (combination of) linguistic softeners or particles, (combination of) sentence voices and structures (e.g., passive/circumstantial imperatives and marked sentence structures [focus operation]), contextual allusions, inclusive vs. exclusive devices, and reduplication. When the speaker has to be direct, he would use warning or preparatory devices before actually acting or mentioning what he/she wants to directly say. Also, mediators are generally used when two parties are in conflict to avoid direct confrontation (Keenan, 1973, 1974, 1976; Keenan & Ochs, 1979).

Related to the responsibility sharing noted above, Malagasy people value sharing mainly among kinspersons, and collaboration. Each member of *havana* networks has obligations to help other members particularly when they have the ability to do so. Included in their obligations and responsibilities is observance of the group's dignity and welfare, and trust and interdependence among kinspersons (Allen, 1995; Keenan & Ochs, 1979). As such, priority is given to personal relations (Dahl, 1995). Therefore, in case of disagreement(s) or difference(s) of opinions, a Malagasy saying is usually reminded: *It is the ideas/opinions that fight and not the people* (i.e., “*ny hevitra no miady fa tsy ny olona*”).

Consistent with the Malagasy “cyclic thinking,” Malagasy people conceive time as “cyclic,” “revolving in an endless rhythm” (Dahl, 1995, p. 201), with evolving and spiraling “consecutive cycles” (p. 202). Thus, time is not scarce, and relationships are given priority. So “a meeting will start ‘when people (most of them) have come,’” rather than at the precise scheduled time (p. 203). Indeed, accidents can rarely be *prophesied*, if at all.

In sum, Malagasy people’s view of the world and mode of thinking is cyclic. They put great emphasis on relationships among people. Social interactions are informed by the norm of direct confrontation avoidance, violation of which is subject to public censure. Various indirectness devices are available to soften utterances and avoid conflicts.

Language Learning Literature

This section reviews the language learning literature consonant with the Piagetian framework used by the present research. First, it presents the theory of language as communication. Second, it provides theories of language learning. Third, language teaching/learning approaches are provided. Last, the speech act of request is outlined along with American English cultural values/beliefs.

Theory of Language

The primary function of language is communicative, that is, it is primarily used for communication, be it oral or written (Harlow, 1990). Language is the symbolic code used in verbal communication (Haslett, 1987), a symbolic representation of culture (Gardner, 1979), used to establish and secure relationships between individuals. Speech

acts are utterances which serve as functional units in communication (Cohen, 1994). As such, they constitute “the minimal units” of linguistic communication behavior (Searle, 1969, p. 16). In addition, they are culture-specific (Wierzbicka, 1985) and context-dependent (Blum-Kulka & House, 1989).

Following Austin (1962, cited in Searle, 1969), Searle (1969) identifies five broad categories of speech acts: (a) Representatives (e.g., assertions, claims, and reports); (b) directives (e.g., suggestions, requests, and commands); (c) expressives (e.g., apologies, complaints, and thanks); (d) commissives (e.g., promise, and threat); and (e) declaratives (e.g., “I now pronounce you man and wife.”).

Searle (1969) contends that a speech act has two kinds of meanings. The first, the propositional or locutionary meaning, concerns the literal meaning of the utterance. The second, the illocutionary meaning, pertains to the function of what is said or written, that is, the meaning that the speaker intends to convey to the hearer. When the speaker fails to convey the intended meaning of the utterance or when the hearer fails to perceive the intended meaning of the utterance, then pragmatic failure occurs (e.g., Thomas, 1983). Pragmatic competence is therefore a component of communicative competence.

Based on this theory of language as communication, Canale and Swain (1980) generated a model of competence for second language teaching/learning and testing. Their model involves four types of competence: (a) grammatical competence; (b) sociolinguistic competence; (c) discourse competence; and (d) strategic competence.

Grammatical competence, the first component of the model, refers to the degree to which the language user has mastered the linguistic system. This includes knowledge

of vocabulary, rules of pronunciation and spelling, word formation, and sentence structure.

Sociolinguistic competence, the second component of the model, concerns the extent to which the language user can appropriately employ and understand linguistic forms in various contexts. Appropriateness is determined by contextual factors such as topic, role of the participants, and setting.

Discourse competence, the third component of the model, relates to the language user's ability to combine ideas to achieve cohesion in form by means of cohesive devices (e.g., pronouns) and grammatical connectors (e.g., conjunctions), and coherence in thought to achieve unity of thought and continuity in a text.

The last component of the model, strategic competence, entails the ability to use communication strategies, verbal and nonverbal. It is to compensate for deficiencies in the language user's knowledge of the system or for communication breakdown due to performance factors.

Following Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) and elaborating on their claims, Savignon (1997) distinguishes five characteristics of communicative competence:

1. Communicative competence is a *dynamic* rather than a static concept. It depends on the negotiation of meaning between two or more people who share to some degree the same symbolic system. In this sense, then, communicative competence can be said to be an *interpersonal* rather than an intrapersonal trait.
2. Communicative competence applies to *both written and spoken* language, as well as to many other symbolic systems.
3. Communicative competence is context specific. Communication takes place in an infinite variety of situations, and success in a particular role depends on one's understanding of the context and on prior experience of a similar kind...
4. There is a theoretical difference between *competence* and *performance*. Competence is defined as a *presumed underlying ability* and performance as the *overt manifestation of that ability*... It is through performance that competence

can be developed, maintained, and evaluated.

5. Communicative competence is *relative*, not absolute, and depends on the cooperation of all the participants. It makes sense, then, to speak of degrees of communicative competence. (pp. 14-15)

Related to the degrees of communicative competence claimed by Savignon

(1997), Howell (1982, cited in Gudykunst, 1993) combines awareness and competence to generate four stages of awareness and competence:

1. Unconscious incompetence, in which we misinterpret others' behavior, but are not aware of it;
2. Conscious incompetence, in which we are aware that we misinterpret others' behavior, but we do nothing about it;
3. Conscious competence, in which we think about our communication behavior and consciously modify it to improve our effectiveness (mindfulness);
4. Unconscious competence, in which we have practiced the skills for effective communication to the extent that we no longer have to think about them to use them. (p. 42)

It follows that communicative competence entails knowledge of the language code including linguistic structure, knowledge of the cultural values underlying in the linguistic structure, and its appropriate use of the linguistic structure in contexts. In second language, competence appears to require some degree of awareness at least until the second language learner reaches the last stage in Howell's (1982) scale of competence. Teaching that aims at language learners' communicative competence should thus use an approach which raises their awareness of how they target language speakers communicate to enable them to attain, at least, Howell's (1982) third stage, that is, conscious competence. Further, if communicative competence is interpersonal, as claimed by Savignon (1997), then, a language teaching approach that claims to be communicative must allow for language learners' interaction in the target language. Therefore, a communicative teaching approach should minimally include awareness of

linguistic strategies as related to contextual factors and cultural values, and interaction among teaching/learning participants. As such, the theory of language discussed above is consistent with Piaget's developmental theory.

Theories of Second/Foreign Language Learning

This section presents theories of second language learning that are in accord with Piaget's developmental theory. These include Gardner's Socio-Educational Model, and Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith's Competence/Control Model.

Gardner's Socio-Educational Model

Gardner's Socio-Educational model was mainly designed to account for second language learning in classroom settings. The model is based on the premise that second language learning concerns "acquiring symbolic elements of a different ethnolinguistic community" (Gardner, 1979, p. 193). It includes four major components: (a) the social and cultural milieu, (b) individual learner differences, (c) second language learning contexts, and (d) learning outcomes.

According to this model, the social and cultural milieu in which learners live shapes their beliefs about language, culture, and second language learning. As such, it affects their desire to identify with the target language culture, and their attitudes towards the learning context related to the teacher and the instructional atmosphere. If the acquisition of a second language is viewed by the host community as a contribution to the learners' growth, that is, as additive, learners are likely to be willing to identify themselves with the target language community or culture, or both. This would positively influence learners' attitudes toward learning the target language. If, on the

contrary, the acquisition of the target language is believed to lead to the learners' feeling of identity loss, that is, as subtractive, learners are more likely to be reluctant to identify themselves with the target language group and culture. This would negatively affect learners' attitudes toward learning the target language (Lambert, 1974, cited in Gardner, (1979). In this regard, the model accounts for some social aspects of language learning theory.

The second component of Gardner's model concerns individual differences involving language aptitude, motivation, and situational anxiety. Aptitude refers to learners' capacity to learn a language as related to their verbal abilities. Motivation relates to their affective characteristics and includes their desire and efforts to acquire the target language. Situational anxiety concerns anxiety resulting from specific situations related to the target language including the target language classroom atmosphere or use, or both. Motivation and situational anxiety are directly related to each other in that they determine learners' learning behaviors through involvement in learning situations.

The third aspect of the model includes second language learning contexts, both formal and informal. The former refers to classroom language instruction, whereas the latter relates to situations which allow learners to acquire the language without direct instruction. Both contexts have a direct impact on learning outcomes, linguistic and nonlinguistic.

The three components of Gardner's model are interrelated. The cultural milieu influences individual differences, which in turn influence the learning contexts. The learning contexts, in turn, influence individual differences, such as attitude and

motivation, and the cultural milieu. The model predicts an indirect link between the learners' cultural milieu and their proficiency, and a direct connection between their motivation and proficiency. Therefore, central to the model is the importance of situational learning contexts as motivation is directly connected to proficiency. Put differently, classroom settings including, but not limited to, participants' roles, social and affective atmosphere, and materials can be either beneficial or detrimental to language learners' socio-affective and cognitive states. Therefore, the model is consistent with learner-centered language classrooms in which learners are valued as active participants in the learning process. It is thus in accord with a Piagetian framework.

Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith's Competence/Control Model

Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith (1985) generated the Competence/Control model, a cognitive model of second language learning. Like many cognitive models of learning, it views learning as an active and dynamic process in which learners play an active role. It is comprised of two components: (a) knowledge and (b) control.

The knowledge component includes linguistic knowledge, that is, grammatical and pragmatic, along a continuum of greater or lesser analysis. It has both qualitative and quantitative dimensions.

The control component refers to the retrieval process involving retrieval procedures and the speed and efficiency of the retrieval process. Knowledge may or may not be "correct" by the target language standards (p. 107) and can be restructured by means of analysis. This analysis becomes crucial when language is used and applied to new contexts. Knowledge restructuration can be global, that is, it can involve the whole

system, or local. Many knowledge changes (by means of restructuration) are in the direction of the target language as learners develop more extensive representations of the target language, causing variability in learners' interlanguage. This variability may be of two types: cognitive as it concerns mental structures, which may also be diachronic as the variation takes place along a time line, and synchronic as it takes place at a particular time which may reflect processing constraints, that is, control variability.

Different types of language skills emerge when either the knowledge or control component or both are developed. Strategies within this concept of interlanguage as variable can be knowledge- or control-based. Knowledge-based strategies refer to manipulations or expansion of the existing target language knowledge and control-based strategies concern manipulations of the execution of responses via means other than the resources provided by the target language.

In short, Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith's (1985) model of second language learning predicts a qualitative or quantitative, or both, development of language learners' language when either the knowledge or control component develops. In addition, it posits that learning new materials requires a consideration of existing knowledge so that the latter can be restructured toward target language standards. Put differently, optimal learning takes place when new materials can be related to existing knowledge (Piaget, 1985). In this sense, environmental experiences play a key role in knowledge growth (Dewey, 1913/1941/1975; Piaget, 1985).

Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith's (1985) Competence/Control model of second language learning supports a consciousness-raising teaching approach that encourages

conscious manipulation and analysis of input in connection to preexisting knowledge for language competence development.

Second/Foreign Language Teaching Approaches

This section presents second or foreign language teaching approaches that are consistent with Piaget's developmental theory. They include a communicative language teaching, cooperative learning, and consciousness-raising practices.

Communicative Language Teaching Approaches

Communicative language teaching approaches are founded on a theory of language as communication (Harlow, 1990; Haslett, 1987). The goal of language teaching is to provide language learners with opportunities to develop their communicative competence, including sociolinguistic competence (see Canale & Swain, 1980).

Although there is no one communicative method, the following are distinctive features of the communicative teaching approach as viewed by Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983):

1. Meaning is paramount.
2. Dialogs, if used, are centered around communicative functions and are not normally memorized.
3. Contextualization is a basic premise.
4. Language learning is learning to communicate.
5. Effective communication is sought.
6. Drilling may occur, but peripherally.
7. Comprehensible pronunciation is sought.
8. Any device which helps the learners is accepted-varying according to their age and interest, etc.
9. Attempts to communicate may be encouraged from the very beginning.
10. Judicious use of native language is accepted where feasible.
11. Translation may be used where students need or benefit from it.
12. Reading and writing can start from the first day, if desired.

13. The target linguistic system will be learned best through the process of struggling to communicate.
14. Communicative competence is the desired goal (i.e., the ability to use the linguistic system effectively and appropriately).
15. Linguistic variation is a central concept in materials and methodology.
16. Sequencing is determined by any consideration of content, function, or meaning which maintains interest.
17. Teachers help learners in any way that motivates them to work with the language.
18. Language is created by the individual often through trial and error.
19. Fluency and acceptable language is the primary goal: accuracy is judged not in the abstract but in context.
20. Students are expected to interact with other people, either in the flesh, through pair and group work, or in writings.
21. The teacher cannot know exactly what language the students will use.
22. Intrinsic motivation will spring from an interest in what is being communicated. (pp. 91-93)

These characteristics suggest an active participation of language learners in the learning process. Therefore, they are consistent with Piaget's developmental theory.

Cooperative Learning Approach

As noted above, cooperative learning techniques are consistent with Piaget's developmental theory. Concerning language teaching and learning, they are based on the premises that language is best learnt when used. Jigsaw can be particularly fruitful for second language learners in that it provides them with the opportunity to practice using the target language in a meaningful manner, a basic condition for learning a second or foreign language (Gaies, 1985). It thus supports the theory of language as communication. Further, like other cooperative learning techniques, its student-centered characteristic can enhance learners' motivation to learn the target language (Simpson, 1994) since each student is considered a valuable resource (Gaies, 1985) who has a "unique gift—a part of the lesson that is unattainable elsewhere" (Aronson & Patnoe,

1997, p. 25) to share with others. One of the key elements in jigsaw is the existence of an information gap to be filled in order to complete the task at hand. The same element is crucial in second language activities to promote meaningful and purposeful interactions and facilitate language acquisition (Doughty & Pica, 1986).

Additionally, cooperative learning techniques have been claimed to be effective for all types of students (Slavin, 1991). They are believed to be particularly beneficial for students coming from a socio-cultural milieu which values sharing with and helping each other, such as African Americans (Haynes & Gebreyesus, 1991) and American Indians (Soldier, 1989). Likewise, Malagasy students, whose community values collective responsibility and confrontation avoidance (Keenan & Ochs, 1979; Raharinirina, 1998), and whose members avoid being singled out from the group (Keenan & Ochs, 1979) are likely to gain more from a cooperative classroom than from a traditional competitive classroom. Indeed, Malagasy students tend to “generalize their village ethic to the classroom” by frequently copying each other’s homework (Keenan & Ochs, 1979, p. 144). A cooperative teaching/learning method can meet this need to share. Jigsaw techniques can be exceptionally beneficial for them as foreign language learners so that they can practice the language within classrooms, an opportunity that they are unlikely to have outside formal teaching/learning settings (Gaies, 1985). The failure of the literature to provide studies in cooperative learning for students whose cultural background values sharing with and helping each other, and the need for more of such studies in secondary English classrooms (Digby, 1995) motivated the present research.

Consciousness-Raising Approach

Another approach advocated for use in second language classrooms is consciousness-raising. In considering second language learners' failure to use the target language in communication as a result of inappropriate transfer of their native sociocultural rules to contexts in the target language, many language researchers and educators believe that language and culture should be explicitly taught in language classrooms through the use of a consciousness-raising approach to assist in learners' development of communicative competence (Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Bardovi-Harlig et al., 1991; Meier, 1996; Olshtain & Cohen, 1990; Schmidt, 1993; Schmidt & Richards, 1980; Thomas, 1983). Knowledge of contextual factors is crucial for the development of communicative competence because contexts can be differentially perceived by members of different communities (Fantini, 1995). For example, in a classroom context, factors such as the roles of an instructor and students are defined differently in Austrian German and American English (Meier, 1996). Because pragmatics refers to the "study of how utterances have meanings in situations" (Leech, 1983, Preface), and because speech acts (e.g., requests, complaints, apologies) belong to the area of pragmatics, consciousness-raising has also been advocated for the teaching of speech acts to help learners develop pragmatic competence. The goal is for them to become aware of the impact of contextual factors on linguistic strategy choice to enable them to comprehend and produce appropriate speech acts in the target language. Also, this ability is important for them to acquire because the same concept can be assigned different meanings by two different speech communities. For instance, the concept of time has different meanings in

Malagasy and American English (Dahl, 1995). Further, the same or similar linguistic structures can convey different functions in two different cultures. For example, the active imperative is the common linguistic means used in American English requests while it can reflect a confrontational attitude in Malagasy (Keenan & Ochs, 1979). It appears that these differences in interpretation are the result of the use of different cultural frames of reference (Carbaugh, 1993). Put differently, contextual perceptions are culturally-shaped (Spitzberg & Brunner, 1991). Therefore, cultural values and beliefs are at the core of pragmatics. Since cultural values and beliefs are generally below the level of consciousness (Wolfson, 1990), language researchers believe that second language learners should be explicitly taught pragmatics to enable them to gain cultural awareness in the target language.

Different definitions have been given to consciousness-raising teaching approaches. Ellis (1992) views consciousness-raising as “an attempt to equip the learner with an understanding of a specific grammatical feature to develop declarative rather than procedural knowledge of it” (p. 234). Declarative knowledge refers to what one knows or can declare and procedural knowledge consists of how to do things. As such, the former corresponds to the knowledge component and the latter to the control component in Bialystok and Sharwood-Smith’s (1985) model.

A consciousness-raising approach has the following main characteristics according to Ellis (1992):

1. There is an attempt to *isolate* a specific linguistic feature for focused attention.
2. The learners are provided with *data* which illustrate the targeted feature and they may also be supplied with an explicit rule describing or explaining the feature.

3. The learners are expected to utilise [sic] *intellectual effort* to understand the targeted feature.
4. Misunderstanding or incomplete understanding of the grammatical structure by the learners leads to *clarification* in the form of further data and description/explanation. Learners may be required (although this is not obligatory) to articulate the rule describing the grammatical structure. (p. 234)

Such a teaching approach does not include practice of the grammatical feature studied since it is primarily a concept-forming approach (Ellis, 1992). Ellis's (1992) view of a consciousness-raising approach is based on the use of this approach for the teaching of grammatical features. Thus, it does not take into account the teaching of pragmatics. Schmidt (1993), in discussing consciousness-raising and the teaching of pragmatics, concludes that "for the learning of pragmatics in a second language, attention to linguistic forms, functional meanings, and the relevant contextual features is required" (p. 35). Unlike Ellis (1992), Schmidt (1993) points to the necessity of drawing language learners' attention to contextual factors. However, he does not explicitly state that, when considering contexts, cultural values that inform them should also be taken into account. This tendency to overlook the cultural dimension of pragmatics is reflected in studies investigating the teaching/learning of speech acts. Many studies have not accounted for the link between linguistic forms and culture for the appropriate comprehension and production of speech acts in order to develop language learners' cultural awareness of and sensitivity to both their native culture and the target language culture as advocated in the literature (e.g., Kramsch, 1993; Meier, 1996, 1999). Indeed, to date, most studies investigating the effects of a consciousness-raising method on the learning of speech acts have solely focused on different linguistic strategies for their understanding and production in the target language (e.g., Olshtain & Cohen, 1990, for apologies in

English), or on how the speech act functions and is performed in the learners' native language and the target language (e.g., Bardovi-Harlig et al., 1991, for closings in English; Holmes & Brown, 1987, for compliments). Stated differently, studies of consciousness-raising for the teaching of pragmatics have not looked at the cultural values that underlie the speech act behavior being taught.

The studies reported above provide a clear basis for advocating the use of a consciousness-raising approach for the teaching of pragmatics. Also, they offer descriptive insights in terms of how speech acts are realized in the target language and/or in the learners' native language. This is a first step in developing learners' communicative competence, which includes grammatical knowledge (Canale & Swain, 1980). This step can entail teaching by sensitizing learners to have sympathy, that is, "the imaginative placing of ourselves in another person's position" in interactions with strangers by using *our own* cultural frames of reference (Bennett, 1979, p. 411, italics added). What is lacking in this step is the consideration of empathy, that is, "the imaginative intellectual and emotional participation in another person's experience" by using his/her frame(s) of reference (p. 418). Language learners, however, will not be able to use the target language speakers' frame of reference unless they are aware of it. They need to be made aware of it, especially if, as noted in the literature, the inappropriate transfer of the native social rules of speaking to situations in the target language (e.g., Liu, 1995; Takahashi & Beebe, 1993) and inadequate or lack of knowledge of relevant cultural and social values in the target language (Harlow, 1990; Holmes & Brown, 1987) result in language learners' pragmatic failure. One way to raise learners' awareness of

the cultural frame of the target language is to teach linguistic realizations of speech acts as related to the cultural values that are reflected in them (Meier, 1996, 1999) in a language classroom in which investigations of language and culture are done by teachers and learners (Kramsch, 1993). This was precisely what the present study did through the teaching of American English requests to Malagasy learners of English, using Piaget's developmental theory as the foundational framework of the consciousness-raising practice utilized as the delivery method.

The Speech Act of Request and Anglo American Cultural Values/Beliefs

The content of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice utilized for participating students in the present research involved American English requestive behaviors. This section provides a review of research on the speech act of request. Two elements are reviewed: (a) the linguistic realizations of the speech act of request; and (b) cultural values in American English in general. These were drawn from available research.

Linguistic Realizations of the Speech Act of Request

The speech act of request has been found to consist of the following segments (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989): (a) a head act, (b) an alerter(s), and (c) a supportive move(s). A head act is the part of the sequence from which alone the act may be realized. An alerter is an element which precedes the actual request act and serves as an opening device. A supportive move is a unit external to the request, which is to aggravate or mitigate its force. For example, in

“Hey John! Could you clean up this mess? I’m having some friends over for dinner tonight,”

“Hey John” is the alerter, “could you clean up this mess” is the head act, and “I’m having some friends over for dinner tonight” is the supportive move.

Requests can be realized by the following three superstrategies based on the head act (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989): (a) impositive (e.g., “Clean up the kitchen.”); (b) conventionally-indirect (e.g., “Could you clean up the kitchen, please?); and (c) non-conventionally indirect (e.g., “You have left the kitchen in a right mess.”). These strategies differ from each other on a directness dimension.

Requests in the classes of impositive and conventional strategies can further be classified in either of the following categories as regard the perspective used in the head act (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989): (a) hearer-oriented, when the speaker focuses on the role of the hearer as an agent (active voice) (e.g., “Could you give me a lift home?”); (b) speaker-oriented, when the speaker focuses on his/her role as a recipient (active voice) (e.g., “Can I catch a ride home?”); (c) inclusive, when the speaker avoids naming the agent or recipient by using pronouns such as we or us (e.g., “Could we begin now?); or (d) impersonal, when the speaker uses passive or circumstantial voices (e.g., “Can one ask for a little quiet?”).

Supportive moves can be classified as regards their aggravating or mitigating force (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). They can be one or more of the following: (a) a preparator, when the speaker prepares the hearer for the ensuing of a request (e.g., “I’d like to ask you something...); (b) a precommitment, when the speaker tries to commit the

hearer before requesting (e.g., “Could you do me a favor?”); (c) a grounder, when the speaker gives reasons, explanations, or justifications for the request (e.g., “Judith, I missed class yesterday. Could I borrow your notes?”); (d) a promise of reward, when the speaker offers a reward due to the fulfillment of the request (e.g., “Could you give me a lift home? I’ll pitch in on some gas.”); (e) an insult, when the speaker prefaces the request with an insult (e.g., “You’ve always been a dirty pig, so clean up!”); (f) a threat, when the speaker threatens the hearer with potential consequences resulting from noncompliance with the request (e.g., “Move your car if you don’t want a ticket!”); and (g) moralizing, when the speaker invokes general moral maxims (e.g., “If one shares a flat one should be prepared to pull one’s weight in cleaning it, so get on with the washing up!”). (For a complete list of supportive moves, see Blum-Kulka et al., 1989, pp. 287-289.)

Admittedly, a teaching method cannot account for such a vast array of components as shown in the above description of requestive linguistic behaviors. A selection of components assumed to be relevant to the teaching situation appears more reasonable.

Anglo American Cultural Values/Beliefs

This section briefly outlines cultural values/beliefs in American English. These values/beliefs, as well as Malagasy cultural values/beliefs (cf. above), informed the teaching of American English requestive behaviors to EFL learners in the present research.

Anglo Americans have been found to be individualistic (e.g., Hofstede, 1980).

This orientation is manifested in interactional behaviors in the following general tendencies:

1. Great value is placed on directness (compared to communities like Malagasy) (Keenan, 1976).
2. Considerable value is put on doing business and the “almighty dollar” (Cuch, 1987; Meier, 1996) and social relations are analyzed according to “profit” and “loss” (Triandis, 1995. p. 49).
3. Time is viewed as a valuable commodity (Wolfson, 1990), linear, and quantitative (Dahl, 1995).
4. Anglo Americans are more precise compared to other speech community members like Malagasy (Dahl, 1995).
5. Jobs are primary concerns (Dahl, 1995).
6. Anglo Americans, like most Westerners, place great emphasis on schedules (Dahl, 1995).
7. Great emphasis is placed on individual responsibility (Wolfson, 1990) and self-reliance (Triandis et al., 1988).
8. Individuals in individualist cultures, such as Americans, view their personal identity as an “I” related to their personal characteristics and separate from others’ identities (Hofstede, 1991).

9. In individualist cultures, such as Anglo American, “confrontation can be salutary” because “coping with conflicts is viewed as a normal part of living together” (Hofstede, 1991, p. 58).

10. Anglo Americans want to be distinguished and to “stick out,” and they behave in ways that make them distinct (Triandis, 1995, p. 46).

This list is certainly far from exhaustive. However, it can be useful as a basis for the teaching of speech acts, as in the case of this study.

In sum, the review of the literature contained in this chapter begins with the presentation of the literature shared by the cooperative consciousness-raising practice packages utilized for both the school personnel and students in this study. It includes Piaget’s developmental theory used as the foundational framework of the cooperative consciousness-raising package, cooperative learning, and Malagasy cultural values/beliefs. It then describes the language learning literature used for the participating student package. This involves theories of language, second/foreign language teaching approaches, the speech act of request, and American English cultural values/beliefs.

Organization of the Remaining Chapters

The organization of the remaining chapters is presented in this section in order to facilitate reading.

The next chapter, chapter III, describes the methodology and procedures followed for the investigation. The site is first presented to provide with the context of the study. Then, key players are introduced. This is followed by a description of the activities involved during the study, as well as the procedures of data collection and analysis.

Chapter IV presents eight descriptive portrayals which highlight key events and participants. Thick descriptions are provided in order to walk readers through the process.

Chapter V reports the results of Study One. They include quantitative and qualitative data obtained from various data sources. They were used to measure the technical soundness of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice as compared to the traditional method of English instruction used in English classrooms at the high school.

Chapter VI offers analyses and interpretations of the results presented in Chapter V and of the descriptive portrayals in Chapter IV. They highlight the technical dimension of the teaching practices under investigation and the human elements connected with change.

Chapter VII briefly summarizes and concludes the whole research.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

This research investigated two major facets of change, which are its technical and human dimensions. Thus, it is an integration of two separate but interrelated studies.

Study One examined the technical soundness of a cooperative consciousness-raising, an innovative teaching practice, as indicated by its (in)effectiveness compared to a traditional teaching method. This (in)effectiveness was evaluated using two measurement means involving the following: (a) students' performances in English, and (b) attitude.

Components investigated which involved the students' performances in English were as follows: (a) ability to identify differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors, (b) ability to relate these linguistic differences to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, and (d) ability to produce appropriate and varied American English requestive behaviors.

The attitude variable involved the following: (e) attitudes of learners toward cooperative consciousness-raising and a traditional method of English instruction, and (f) attitude of their teacher toward the same teaching methods.

Study Two explored the human dimension of change via reactions of participants to the introduction of cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice into their school (i.e., a high school).

This chapter provides the research methodology and procedures. First, it presents the study site. Second, it outlines key players in the study. Third, it gives a description

of the study including the administrative procedures, the samples, the training, and the implementation. Fourth, it describes the data collection procedures. Fifth, it presents the data analysis procedures for each study. Sixth, it outlines qualitative study standards followed. And lastly, it concludes with a brief discussion of ethics in qualitative research.

In an effort to preserve the anonymity of individual participants and the confidentiality of information promised to them, proper names have been changed. Details related to the location of the site have also been falsified.

Presentation of the Site

This section presents the research site. It first provides a broad description of the general territorial structure in Madagascar and the Malagasy school system. Then, it briefly introduces the community and region

Overview of the Malagasy Territorial Structure

The territorial structure of Malagasy consists of the following hierarchical divisions, from top to bottom: the “nation,” “provinces,” “*préfectures*,” “*sous-préfectures*,” “*communes*,” and “*villages*.” The number of subdivisions within a division depends on the size of the latter. That is, a larger province may have more *préfectures* than a smaller one, for example. For convenience, the term *region* is used for *sous-préfecture*, *city* for *commune*; *village* is kept.

The School System in Madagascar

The school system in Madagascar is based on the French system (Allen, 1995). It more or less parallels the territorial division described above. It is a centralized system as regards its functions although it may appear decentralized as shown in the following

general description. At the national level is the *Ministry of Education* headed by the *Minister of Education*. At the provincial level is the *Direction Provinciale de l'Enseignement* (Provincial School Direction) led by the *Director Provincial de l'Enseignement* (Provincial School Director). The next level is the *Circonscription Scolaire* (School Circumscription, similar to a school district in the U.S) under the guidance of the *Chef de la Circonscription Scolaire* (School Circumscription Chief) in each region. The last level consists of individual schools under the leadership of a principal called *Directeur d'Ecole* (School Director) at the elementary and middle school levels, and *Proviseur* at the high school level. Although each school may have its own organization, *proviseurs* of large high schools are usually assisted by an assistant referred to as *censeur*. Each middle and high school generally has a general controller and other management support personnel.

Recently, high schools have been urged to establish a “School Board” whose responsibilities include searching for means to improve teaching/learning and school life. In many locations, students’ parents have an association led by a president. Its role in school varies depending on each community or school, or both.

The basic structure of general education public school levels in Madagascar is as follows: (a) The elementary level is 5-year, that is, 1st through 5th grades; (b) The middle school is 4-year, that is, 6th through 9th grades; And (c) the high school level is 9-year, that is, 10th through 12th grades. Some schools have both middle and high school levels following prior school organization. At the end of each level, students must take a national examination for the obtainment of a corresponding national diploma. The

last level in the public school structure is higher education. It generally offers the following: (a) the “*licence*,” a three-year degree, (b) “*maîtrise*,” a four-year degree, and (c) “*diplôme d’études approfondies*,” a five-year degree. In addition to these general education schools and/or colleges, of interest to this research are teacher education institutions referred to as “*Ecoles Normales*” levels one, two, and three. The latter, renamed “*Ecole Normale Supérieure*,” is “the highest teacher-training institute” in Madagascar (Allen, 1995, p. 149). Graduates of this college have received considerable acclaim for their teaching competence, mainly compared to graduates of the general education university most of whom become high school teachers.

These educational levels are usually integrated into the territorial division structure as follows: The elementary education level has been established in villages, the middle in cities, high school in regions, and higher education in provinces.

Madagascar adopts a tracking system. For example, all students in the same grade level section remain in the same section during the whole academic year. Also, each grade level has only one schedule. Thus, students have no choice as for the time they want to take a subject course and which teacher they want to teach them. In addition, they must repeat the grade level class if their annual grade point average is considered low or insufficient, regardless of the grades they obtain in each subject area. Further, students are tracked into a “literary” or “scientific” section starting in eleventh grade. Basically, the difference between these two types of section is the number of hours devoted to the teaching of the respective subject areas. The only choice schools give students concerns foreign languages, except French, which is mandatory and used as

the medium of instruction in many schools in accordance with the recent policy of the ministry of education. In addition, students have to take courses in a second foreign language, which is usually English.

It is also worth mentioning that a full-time high school teaching load encompasses a maximum of 20-hour-in-class teaching per week. This allows teachers to prepare lessons, design materials, and be involved in various activities outside their work schedule during the remaining weekly 20 hours. Any in-class teaching time beyond 20 hours is considered paid overtime work.

In an effort to involve the Malagasy people in the overall improvement of the nation's life, the government has recently encouraged each province and region to identify local needs and problems, and address them the best they can. This relates to all sectors including education and school. Some regions have already attempted to respond to this appeal.

In sum, the educational system in Madagascar is based on the French system and consistent with the territorial structure. It is a tracking year-round system. Although it has teacher education institutions, many secondary teachers are graduates of a general education university. Major decisions are generally made at the ministry level, although teachers make their own choices regarding teaching/learning approaches in their individual classrooms. Recently, the government has encouraged more regional involvement in their needs and problems.

The Community and Region

This research was conducted in the Ambohitsaraiaiana region, a suburban-rural region of about 130,000 inhabitants in the province of Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar. Its economy is primarily based on agriculture and tourism. Its economic success has made many of its inhabitants wealthy. The community is particularly proud of its recent achievements including the establishment of a community credit union type institution and school building, among others. During the 1999-2000 academic year, the regional school circumscription served a total of over 14,000 students, kindergarten through 12th grades. It has 128 elementary schools of which 109 are public with 12 buildings run by students' parents' associations, 12 middle schools half of which are public, and 1 high school. Of primary interest to this research is the high school: During the 1998-1999 academic year, it had two 10th, two 11th, and two 12th grade classes. The 10th graders' dropout rate was about 20%.

The decision to conduct this research in Ambohitsaraiaiana was made upon its Senator's solicitation at the request of students' parents to "look at education in its schools" for school improvement.

Overview of Key Players

Various individuals played key roles in this research. They include governmental authorities, students' parents, community members, school personnel and students.

Governmental Authorities

The governmental authorities that played key roles in this study included the Senator of the region, the President of the region, and the Head of the Regional

Department of Education. They officially opened the study on April 30, 1999. The Senator arranged all activity scheduling prior to the study following various telephone communications with the researcher. Although these authorities did not actively participate in the process of the study, their support was crucial to its completion.

Students' Parents

Students' parents were the primary initiators of the present innovation introduction in schools. They had expressed their concerns about schools in the region to the Senator, and their wish to "look at education" in order to depict and address problems. The president of the high school students' parents' association attended the official opening of the study to indicate their support for the study.

Community Members

Numerous community members also played a critical role in the study. They communicated their support through various "welcoming" behaviors in the form of free room, food offer, path repair, and safety measures, among others.

School Personnel and Students

School personnel that played critical roles in this research include school administrative staff, faculty, and students at the Ambohitsaraianana High School. The school administrative staff includes the high school principal, assistant principal, accountant, and secretary. They were involved in pre-study meeting activities. They also worked extra hours to arrange schedules to allow students' and teachers' participation. In addition, they helped with the provision of materials needed for the study. Further, many of them participated in the teacher training to show their support and interest. Teachers

of different subject areas also played crucial roles in this research, as well as 10th, 11th, and 12th graders.

Description of the Research

This offers a description of the research. It includes a general outline of pre-study, study, and post-study procedures.

Pre-Study Procedures

Administrative Procedures

Telephone communications with the Senator of Madagascar representing the region of Ambohitsaraianana began more than a year before the field research. He scheduled all activities prior to the study. Physical access gaining into the region began with trips to and meetings with community members in various locations during the week of April 19, 1999. The official opening of the study took place on April 30, 1999.

Formal Meeting

On May 3, 1999, a meeting with secondary teachers and administrative staff was held. The purpose of the study was explained and procedures discussed. It was agreed that the school personnel training sessions would take place twice a week, on Wednesday afternoons and Saturday mornings, although modifications could occur depending on circumstances. The audience was informed that their participation was voluntary, and they could withdraw from the study any time even after their decision to participate.

Study Procedures

This section presents the study procedures. They involve training activities and implementation.

Training Activities

The training activities involved two types of training: (a) the School Personnel Training, and (b) the Student Training.

School personnel training. The school personnel training involved a sample composed of 10 teachers of different subject areas, and three administrative staff members. Seven were male and six female.

The formal training period lasted from May 3 through May 29, 1999, that is, four weeks with a total of approximately 18 hours of formal meetings. It was complemented by informal training which took place throughout the whole study.

The purpose of the training was two-fold: (a) to raise participants' awareness of inconsistencies or weaknesses in their teaching practices, and (b) to provide them with tools necessary for the use of jigsaw techniques in their classrooms. For this, a cooperative consciousness-raising, an innovative teaching practice, was utilized.

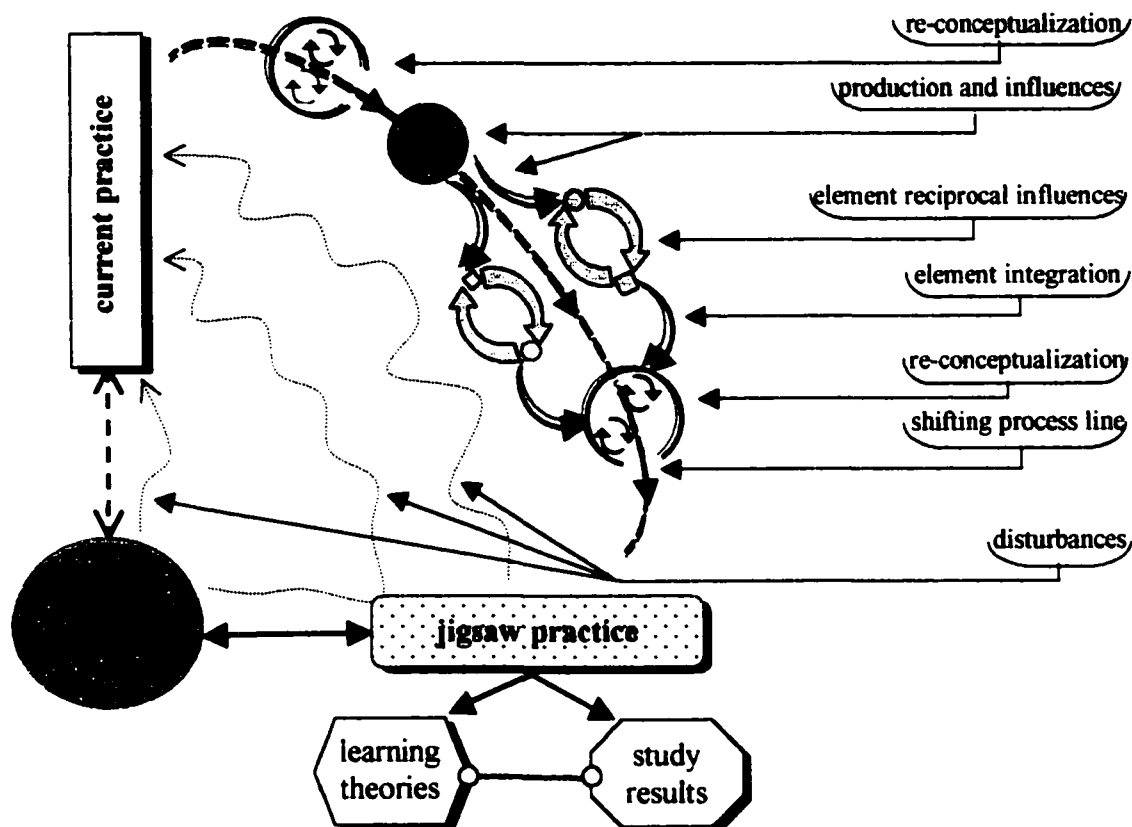
The cooperative consciousness-raising practice utilized Piaget's developmental theory, or constructivism, as its foundational framework. It aimed at raising participants' awareness of inconsistencies between their values and elements of their practices, and among the latter, or of weaknesses in their practices. It posits that knowledge is constructed via building experiences on previous ones. Knowledge construction involves an interaction between assimilation of input and accommodation of structures, with the key process of equilibration or self-regulation at work.

Within this framework, becoming aware is a process of conceptual reconstruction or re-conceptualization, a process needed or inevitable when dysfunction is depicted or

identified. The primary target of the re-conceptualization was the concept of *teaching* in connection to the concepts of *learner* and *learning* or *learner-centeredness*. Given that the totality of a system is cohesive, coherent, and is regulated by its own laws, and given that conservation is needed for production to result, participants' cultural values/beliefs, values/beliefs that they *share* with students and their community, were conserved to allow transformation and production to occur. That is, shared values were *retained unchanged* and utilized as the foundations on which re-conceptualization or conceptual re-organization was to be built.

As Figure 1 indicates, *disturbances* were generated to trigger participants' conscious analyzes of the mechanisms of their teaching practices. They took the form of input and feedback to participants' verbal and non-verbal reactions. This was to allow them to depict contradictions or inconsistencies between their shared values and their teaching behaviors, or among the latter, and identify their possible impacts on learners and learning. As such, disturbances targeted key features/elements related to or manifestations of the object of re-conceptualization, or both. This means that, at least, knowledge of these *key* features/elements and manifestations as they relate to participants (i.e., individuals that are to become aware) is required to avoid aimless, thus meaningless, or haphazard targeting that could confuse them. Contradictions or inconsistencies are indicated by the broken two-headed straight arrow connecting the *shared values* and participants' *current practices* in Figure 1. Awareness of these would require them to engage in the process of re-conceptualization or conceptual re-organization. This

Figure 1. Fundamentals of the Cooperative Consciousness-Raising Practice For School Personnel.



engagement would cause behavior modifications as a result of a continuous search for a better equilibrium.

To facilitate the process of re-conceptualization or conceptual re-organization, an alternative to their teaching practices, the *jigsaw practice*, was provided. Consistencies of this alternative with the *shared values* were highlighted, and indicated by the plain two-headed straight arrow connecting the two corresponding boxes in Figure 1. Also, its

consistencies with learning theories and cooperative learning research results were provided as indicated by the plain single-headed arrows directed to the *learning theories* and *study results* boxes still in Figure 1. Further, assistance in the identification of possible impacts on learners and learning was further strengthened via having participants live through learning experiences themselves, learning experiences indicated by the patterned fill of the *jigsaw practice* box. This was to allow them to empathize with learners, experience their feelings and thought processes during learning, and adjust their teaching behaviors accordingly.

As Figure 1 displays, a *conceptual re-organization* results in *production*. This *production* affects or influences other elements which also influence each other. These elements are integrated in the process of re-conceptualization with the new *production* serving as the new *conservation*. The initially conserved *shared values* are retained all through the process as indicated by the gray color in elements along the broken shift line. Also, the shift line is left open since, according to Piaget's theory, aspects of the subsystems in a system are "not entirely decidable" (1977, p. 13), and equilibration is a cycle of interactions. It follows from the above that, to raise participants' awareness, the purpose of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice was to simultaneously generate participants' need(s) for self-exploration and self-discovery/re-discovery via disturbances of existing conceptual structures and related behaviors, and facilitate the shifting process, self-regulation, or self-organization/re-organization via provision of an alternative(s) and learning experiences. All of this was performed in connection with shared existing

values since the principal object of re-conceptualization was *teaching* as related to *learner-centeredness*.

The School Personnel Training content involved *understanding cooperative learning*, that is, jigsaw, as drawn from Johnson et al. (1993). It included but was not limited to the following: (a) definition of cooperative learning, (b) foundations of cooperative learning, (c) elements for effective cooperative learning (d) collaborative skills in cooperative learning, (e) group roles in cooperative learning, (f) teacher role in cooperative learning, and (g) assessment in cooperative learning. Included in discussions and evaluation were foundational features of cooperative learning consistent with Malagasy cultural values/beliefs, consonant learning theories, and cooperative learning study results. Any concerns raised by participants were also discussed.

The method of inquiry utilized was consciousness-raising. Jigsaw techniques were employed in all activities.

Materials used for the Teacher Training included lesson plans that targeted learner's active knowledge construction, discovery, transformation, extension, and activation of existing knowledge. They were also based on social transactions among learners and between the researcher as a teacher and participants as learners. Instruments included but were not limited to the following: researcher-pre-designed cards and evaluation sheet, and visual materials conceived prior to the field study but designed during the School Personnel Training period utilizing local products and complemented with additional information and data. Also included were participant-designed visual

materials. The lesson plans and pre-designed materials were approved by the researcher's dissertation committee prior to the field study.

Student training. The student sample involved 40 tenth and eleventh graders in the experimental group, and 40 twelfth graders in the control group. Of the 40 students in the former, there were 24 tenth graders (i.e., 60%) of which 12 were female and 12 male, and 16 eleventh graders (i.e., 40%) of whom 12 were female and 4 male, yielding a total of 24 (i.e., 60%) female and 16 (i.e., 30%) male students. Of the 40 students in the control group, 26 (i.e., 65%) were female and 14 (i.e., 35%) male. The age mean of the experimental group was 18.60 and the students' age range was 7. The age mean of the control group was 19.22 and the students' age range was 8. Table 1 displays demographic characteristics of the student sample.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Student Sample

Group	<u>N</u>	Age Mean	Age Range	Female		Male	
				<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
Experimental	40	18.60	7	24	60	16	40
Tenth Graders	24			12	30	12	30
Eleventh Graders	16			12	30	4	10
Control Group	40	19.22	8	26	65	14	35
Twelfth Graders	40						

In accordance with the policy of the University of Northern Iowa, participating students in the experimental group were asked to complete the Human Subject Informed Consent Form (see Appendix B) at students' parents' and school personnel's outrage.

The Student Training period for the experimental group was led by the researcher and took place from May 27 through June 8, 1999, with an approximate total of 20 hours. About 10 hours were devoted to pronunciation and about 10 hours to group skill acquisition.

The control group students had English classes during their regular schedule. They were taught by the regular English teacher.

Materials used for the experimental student group training were informed by Gaies (1985) and Johnson et al. (1993). They included lesson plans prepared during the student training and were consistent with Piaget's developmental theory. They involved whole group, pair, and group work activities. They targeted learners' confidence in speaking, and group role mastering. They also aimed at the learner's active knowledge construction, discovery, transformation, extension, and activation of existing knowledge. Additionally, they were based on social transactions among learners and between the researcher as a teacher and students. Instruments included materials taken from books in the school library and modified by the researcher. Also used were student-designed visual materials.

As a whole, the experimental group training targeted a shift from students as passive recipients of knowledge to students as active participants in the learning process. It was posited that such a shift requires a re-conceptualization of learners' roles and role

relationships within the classroom to allow behavior adjustment to occur. Therefore, like with the cooperative consciousness-raising practice utilized for the School Personnel Training, shared values were kept unchanged although this was not explicitly stated and conveyed to students. Input in the form of written and spoken instructions, and verbal and non-verbal feedback to students' verbal and non-verbal reactions served as *disturbances* to trigger re-conceptualization. That is, the hidden curriculum was also utilized as part of disturbances. Expectations from each student were provided via descriptions and models of his/her group role. Likewise, expectations from groups as a whole were given via specific written instructions along with suggestions for possible useful tools to complete assignments. Special emphasis was put on intellectual and affective safety.

Materials used for the control group included lesson plans prepared by their regular English teacher. They included intensive lesson reviews including speech acts, grammatical structures, written dialogues, and topics in the syllabus. Activities were mostly written and gave priority to grammatical correctness. They reflected teacher to student knowledge transfer, student as a knowledge recipient, and teacher-dominated interactions.

Implementation

The implementation began on June 9 and ended on June 16, 1999, with an approximate total of 18 hours.

Design. This study used a triangulation approach via between- and within-method approaches as advocated by Denzin (1978). The former was translated in

multiple data collection instruments including experiment, questionnaires, documents, diaries, notebook, observations, and interviews. The latter was performed through utilization of items yielding both quantitative and qualitative data, such as questionnaires and achievement test items.

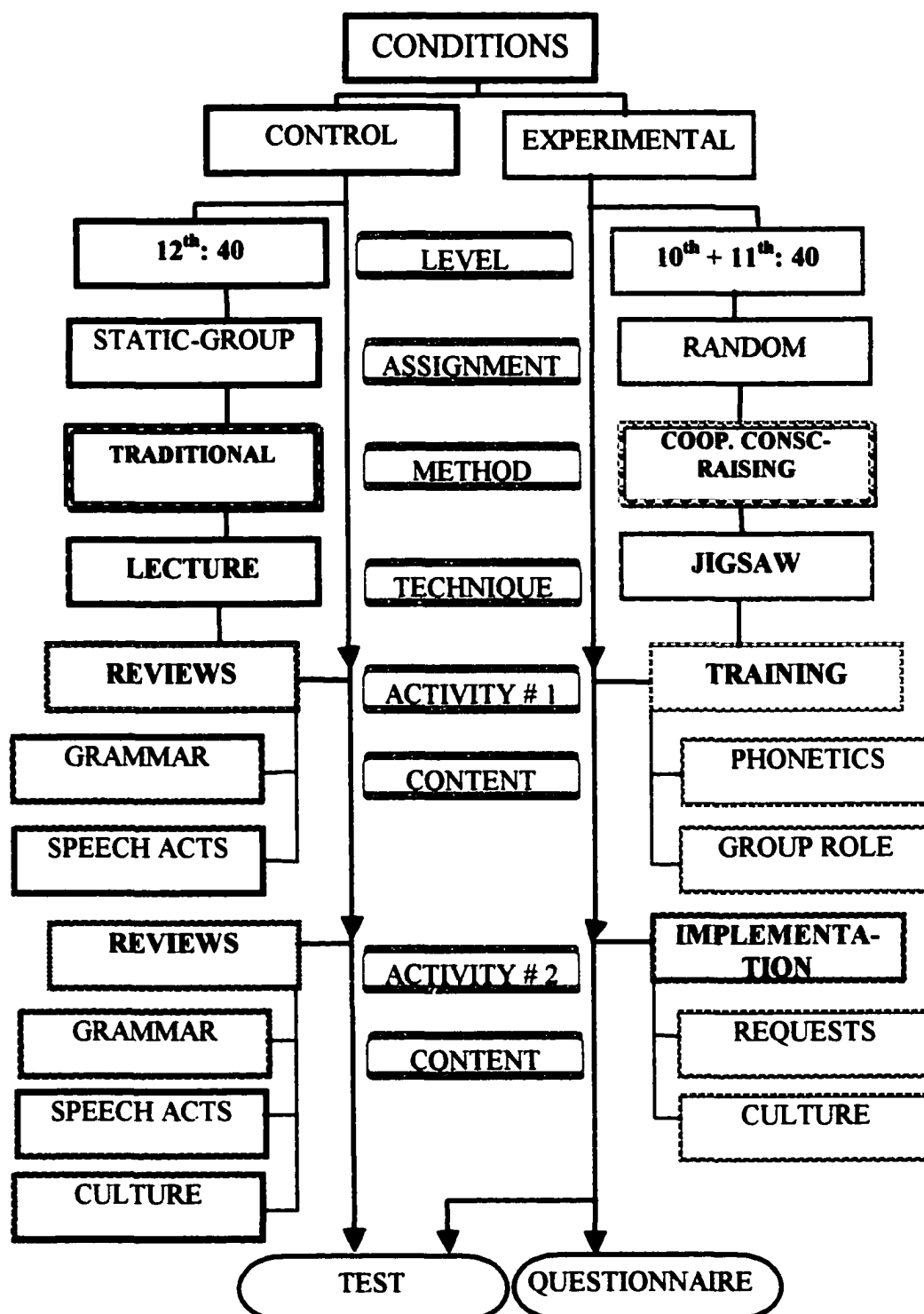
The experiment used a variation of “static-group comparison design” (Fraenkel & Wallen, 1993, p. 246). It utilized an intact group of 40 students in two 12th grade classes as the control group, and a group of 40 randomized volunteer 10th and 11th graders as the experimental group. In other words, the size of the latter was matched with the size of the former (see Figure 2).

The independent variable was method of instruction with two levels: (a) a cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice, and (b) a traditional teaching method.

The dependent variables were of two types: (a) achievement, and (b) attitude. The achievement variable had three levels: (a) ability to identify linguistic differences in Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors, (b) ability to relate linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, and (c) ability to produce appropriate and varied American English requestive behaviors in different contexts. The second type of dependent variable involved the teacher’s and learners’ attitudes toward the approaches being studied for English teaching/learning.

Treatment conditions. The treatment conditions involved Malagasy learners of English as a foreign language. Students in treatment group A were taught American

Figure 2. Study One Experiment Design.



English requests through the use of cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice. This practice utilized Piaget's developmental theory as its foundational framework. Its aim was to raise students' awareness of the link between language and culture. More specifically, it targeted their awareness of the link between linguistic strategies and cultural values/beliefs in Malagasy and American English requests, that is, requestive strategies are informed by cultural values/beliefs. Like with the School Personnel Training, such awareness required a re-conceptualization or conceptual re-organization. Therefore, it was posited that, prior to the implementation, students had not been aware of this link either in their native or the target language.

To enable students to build their re-conceptualization on prior or existing knowledge, Malagasy cultural values/beliefs and students' assumed knowledge of linguistic structures of Malagasy requests were *conserved*. Conscious analyses of these values, followed by conscious analyses of American English cultural values, were triggered via specific instructions utilized as disturbances. Given that it is the system as a whole that integrate and differentiate external objects to assimilate (Piaget, 1977), explorations of the cultural system as a whole in both communities were *first* undertaken to enable students to identify general laws that regulate them, starting with the native system. Production resulting from these explorations served as conservation for the next transformation or re-conceptualization. Then, conscious analyses of linguistic structures of Malagasy and American English requests were carried out, starting with the former. This was followed by comparisons of the two. Last, connections between the linguistic strategies and cultural values/beliefs were explored, utilizing the production obtained

from the previous re-conceptualization process as conservation. Consistent with Piaget's developmental theory, all of the explorations were cooperatively performed in jigsaw activities. These activities were informed by Gaies's (1985) peer involvement in language learning, Johnson et al.'s (1993) cooperative learning, and Kramsch's (1993) language classrooms as ethnographic exploration fields.

Materials used for the treatment condition A included lesson plans prepared by the researcher prior to the field study. They targeted learner's active knowledge construction, discovery, transformation, extension, and activation of existing knowledge. They were also based on social transactions among learners and between the teacher and students. Also used were student-created visual materials during the implementation.

Students in the treatment group B were taught English requests through intensive reviews of speech acts, grammatical structures, and vocabulary items. Teacher-designed lessons plans were the material utilized. The method used was a traditional whole group instruction. Activities were mostly written and gave priority to grammatical correctness. They reflected teacher to student knowledge transfer, student as knowledge recipient feature, and teacher-dominated and controlled interactions.

It is worth mentioning that the control group had received an average additional English instruction time of at least 70 hours compared to 11th graders and even more compared to 10th graders in the experimental group. Also, the experimental group students did not receive regular English classes from the student training beginning date until the end of the experiment since all tenth and eleventh regular classes were cancelled

during that time period. In addition, both the control and experimental groups were taught by the regular English teacher during the implementation period.

Study One Data Collection and Analyses

Data were collected during the entry into the region, the field study, and more than a year after the field study. Multiple methods and sources were utilized to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The following section presents data collection and analyses for Study One.

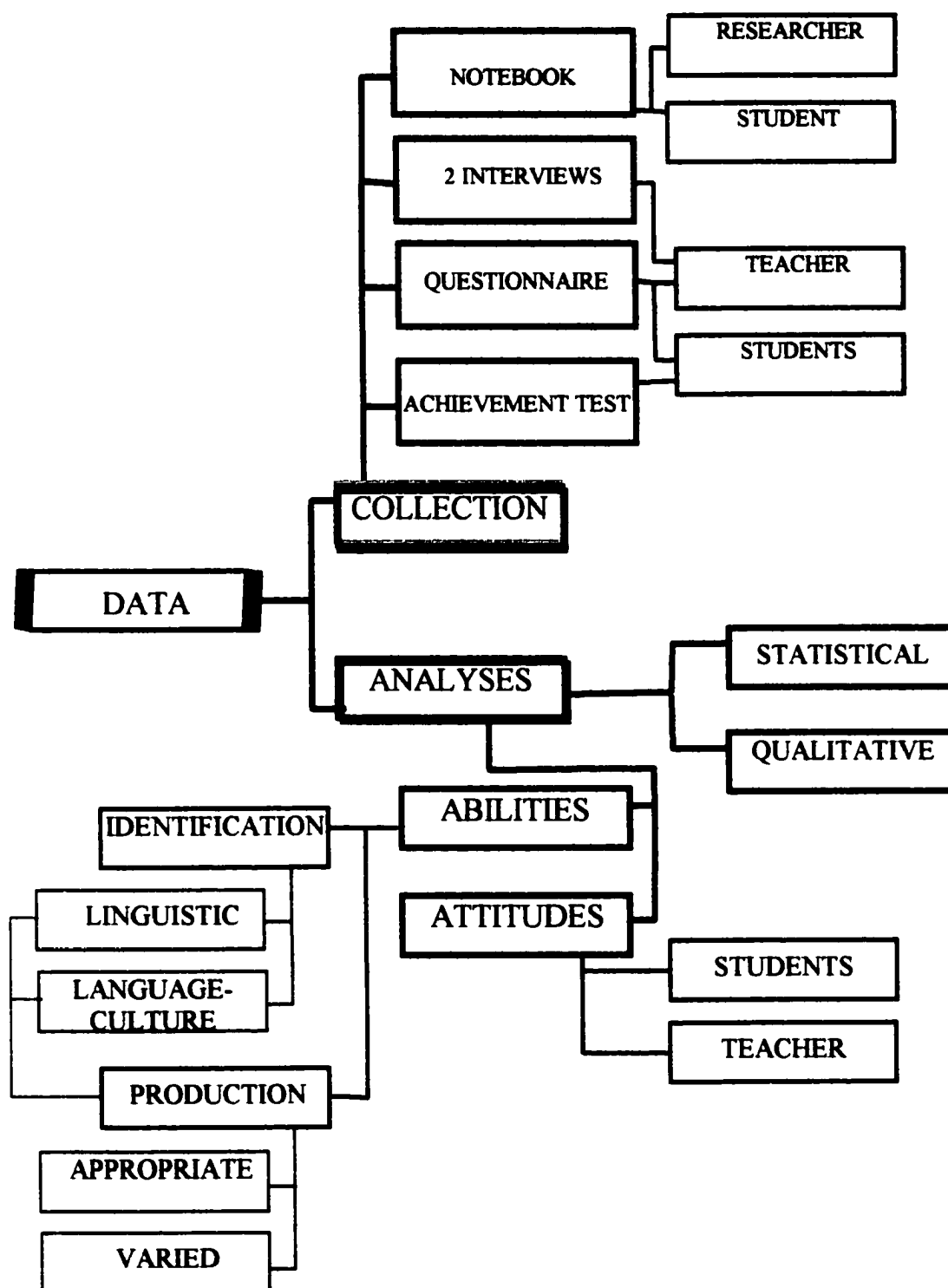
Data Collection

For Study One, instruments for data collection included the following: (a) English Achievement Test, (b) questionnaires, (c) Researcher Notebook, (d) Student Notebook, and (e) teacher interviews (see Figure 3).

English Achievement Test. Twenty-eight experimental group students and 27 control group students took a researcher-designed English Achievement Test two days after the end of the implementation. It aimed at assessing students' sociolinguistic competence, which entailed appropriate understanding and production of language (Canale, 1983). In the present study, sociolinguistically competent learners have the ability to understand and produce utterances and relate them to cultural values that inform their choices. The English Achievement Test comprised two sections: (a) Identification and (b) Production.

The Identification section included tasks that aimed to assess students' understanding of American English requests as compared to Malagasy requests. Two tasks were given in order to give fresh starts to the test takers, thus increasing the

Figure 3. Study One Data Collection and Analysis Relationships.



reliability of the test (Hughes, 1989/1993). The operations in each task were as follows:

(a) to identify and describe two linguistic differences between requestive behaviors in Malagasy and American English. The differences were related to the head act (i.e., speaker, hearer, inclusive, or impersonal orientation) and types of supportive moves, namely, promise of reward and grounder (i.e., reason, justification or explanation); and

(b) to relate these differences to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities. These operations had to support situationalized requests in Malagasy and American English provided to the test takers. These requests were provided in order to increase the validity of the test. In other words, they were to ensure that the test content was a fair reflection of the operations mentioned above rather than of other operations such as creativity. The types of text took the form of a letter and note. They could reflect written or spoken language or both. The addressees were an American pen pal and members of a Contest Committee of the American and Malagasy Friends Association. The time allotted to each task was about 60 minutes although more time was allowed as necessary because speed was not part of the assessment.

The Production section included items that aimed at assessing learners' abilities to produce appropriate and varied requests in American English and explain their choices in relation to cultural values in the American English and Malagasy communities. The operations in this section involved the following: (a) to provide appropriate requests in American English and Malagasy for varied contexts in the form of open-ended Discourse Completion Tasks. Context variation was defined in terms of role relationship between the interlocutors involved in the situations. The Malagasy requests provided by students

served as a baseline for comparison and contrast; (b) to identify differences in the linguistic realizations of the requests provided; and (c) to relate these differences to underlying cultural values in Malagasy and American English.

These operations had to support the requests provided by the test takers. The type of texts was a detailed draft of an essay in preparation of an invitation to be a guest speaker in a class at an international high school in Madagascar. The audience consisted of students in these classes.

All of the test instructions were provided in both Malagasy and English and test takers were encouraged to ask for instruction explanations if needed in order to increase the reliability of the test (Hughes, 1989/1993). The English Achievement Test was approved by her dissertation committee prior to the field study. A test item sample appears in appendix C.

Questionnaires. Questionnaires utilized for data collection were of two types: (a) Teacher Questionnaire, and (b) Student Questionnaire.

The Teacher Questionnaire was used to assess the English teacher's and students' attitudes toward the teaching/learning approaches involved, that is, the cooperative consciousness-raising and the traditional method of language instruction in the regular English class. The Student Questionnaire was employed to assess students' attitudes toward the teaching/learning approaches under investigation. Both included a section on Students and Learning. The Teacher Questionnaire comprised an additional section on Teacher and Teaching.

The Students and Learning section in the Teacher Questionnaire contained 15 items related to the following with regards to each approach: (a) amount of student voluntary participation, (b) student liking of approach, (c) student liking of activities, (d) student liking of group work, (e) student understanding of lesson, (f) relatedness of current knowledge and input enhancement, (g) student information retention, (h) approach and improvement of students' education quality, (i) student motivation to learn enhancement, (j) student achievement increase, (k) student creativity enhancement, (l) amount of listening practice, (m) amount of speaking practice, (n) amount of reading practice, and (o) amount of writing practice. A general item "Other" closed the section.

The Teacher and Teaching section in the Teacher Questionnaire included the following 7 items as related to each approach: (a) teacher liking of approach, (b) teacher liking of activities, (c) teaching interest enhancement, (d) teaching motivation enhancement, (e) teacher confidence in approach use, (f) teacher challenge, and (g) teacher concern. A general item "Other" closed the section.

The instructions in the Teacher Questionnaire were in English to her convenience, though the oral explanation was provided in Malagasy. Also, she was given the freedom to respond in any language she felt comfortable with. The Student Questionnaire was in Malagasy. Both questionnaires were designed by the researcher and approved by her dissertation committee prior to the field study. Sample questionnaire items for the former appear in Appendix D and sample questionnaire items for the latter appear in Appendix E.

Researcher notebook. The researcher kept a notebook to record information relevant to the study being undertaken, future research on topics of interest, and information she might need for personal use. During the formal data analysis, additional information and details regarding specific events were recorded. Utterances were reproduced and recorded in the language used by participants as recalled, “reliance on memory to recount” sessions being a participant observer recording method (Merriam, 1998, p. 104).

Student notebook. A 12th grader’s English notebook was also utilized as a data collection instrument.

Data Analyses

This section presents data analysis for each of the research questions under investigation in Study One. Table 2 summarizes the data analyses.

Students’ performances. Students’ performances relates to their abilities in communicative competence in American English requestive behaviors. They involve the first three research questions.

Students’ abilities to identify linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors. English students’ abilities to identify linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English were measured by their responses to an American pen pal’s letter, a detailed note in preparation for a contest, and a detailed draft in response to a teacher’s invitation. In all three of these, students had to identify and describe two differences in the linguistic devices used in Malagasy and American English as reflected in requests provided to them in the Identification section, and

provided by them in the Production section. One of the differences concerned the orientation of the head acts. Operationally, orientation of the head acts was defined as “speaker-oriented,” “hearer-oriented,” or “impersonal.” More specifically, requests where the speaker was identified as the grammatical subject and agent of the action were classified as “speaker-oriented.” Those where the hearer was identified as the grammatical subject and agent of the action were “hearer-oriented.” Those where the hearer or object was identified as the grammatical subject and patient or circumstance of the action was impersonal. In other words, the orientation of the head referred to the voices of the sentences, that is, active, passive, or circumstantial, and the grammatical subject of the sentence. For the Identification section response, the results yielded a head act linguistic identification and description ability score of 0 to 2 for each context, that is, a total score range from 0 to 4. For the Production section response, the results yielded a head act linguistic score range from 0 to 1. For both the Identification and Production sections, the results yielded a head act linguistic identification and description score of 0 to 5.

The other difference entailed the nature of supportive moves used in requests in the two languages. This included the types of supportive moves identified in the Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) request coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a) although students were not required to use technical terms in their description or categorization. For the Identification section response, the results yielded a supportive move linguistic identification and description ability score of 0 to 2 for each context, that is, a supportive move linguistic identification and description ability total

Table 2
Study One Data Analysis Summary

Study	Question	Data Source	Analysis
1	1-3	- test data from treatment and control groups	- descriptive statistics: measures of central tendencies
			- inferential statistics: t-tests
		- student test responses	- qualitative
		- student notebook	- qualitative
	4	- teacher questionnaire	- descriptive statistics: measures of central tendencies
		- student questionnaire	- inferential statistics: t-tests
			- qualitative
	5	- teacher questionnaire	- descriptive statistics: measures of central tendencies
		- interviews	- qualitative
2	6	- documents: letters, official documents, study materials	- qualitative
		- teacher diaries	
		- teacher interviews	
		- researcher notebook	

score of 0 to 4. For the Production section, the results yielded a supportive move linguistic identification and description score of 0 to 1. For both sections, the results yielded a supportive move linguistic identification and description ability score of 0 to 5. The results yielded a linguistic difference identification and description ability total score of 0 to 10.

Quantitative analyses of test data from the treatment and control groups were utilized to conduct descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies, and inferential statistics including t tests in order to identify presence or absence of significant differences between means. The first parts of the Identification and Production sections in the English Achievement Test were used to assess this ability.

Students' abilities to relate linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities (language-culture connection). English students' abilities to relate linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities were measured by their responses to a pen pal's letter, a detailed note in preparation for a contest, and a detailed draft in response to a teacher's invitation. In all three of these, students had to identify cultural values embedded in the Malagasy and American requests provided to them in the Identification section and provided by them in the Production section. They had to give explanations/justifications for the choice of request realizations in relation to cultural values/beliefs in the two communities. Such explanations/justifications were required in each test item in the study. In other words, learners had to demonstrate this ability in the

second part of the Identification and Production sections of the English Achievement Test. Students did not score in this ability unless they identified the linguistic differences in requestive behaviors between Malagasy and American English. Ability to state relationships between strategies present in head acts or supportive moves and underlying cultural values in the two languages was assessed according to students' logical explanations and/or justifications of the choices made to perform the act, and their ability to provide interpretations of requests in either American English or Malagasy should the linguistic strategy used in requestive behaviors in either be used in requests in the other language community. For the Identification section responses, the results for the connection between differences in Malagasy American English requestive behavior and cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, or language-culture connection ability, yielded a score ranging from 0 to 12 in the Identification section, that is, a score from 0 to 4 for the cultural value identification, from 0 to 4 for the linguistic use justification/explanation, and from 0 to 4 for the meaning interpretation. For the Production section responses, the results yielded a language-culture connection total ability score of 0 to 4, that is, a score of 0 to 2 for cultural value identification, and from 0 to 4 for linguistic use justification. The results yielded a language-culture connection ability total score ranging from 0 to 16.

Two raters, the researcher and a native speaker of American English in the field of TESOL, scored students' responses. For analysis and scoring purposes, each student was given an identification number. In addition, each student's response was duplicated so that each rater rated each response twice. Students' sheets were randomly ordered.

Each rater scored as many responses as needed for scoring training before the final scoring. Average score was used for each set of scores where disagreement within and between raters arose. A detailed scoring key was used by each rater to make scoring as objective as possible. Irrelevant features, such as grammatical inaccuracy and writing skills, were ignored to increase the validity of the test.

Quantitative analysis of test data from the treatment and control groups were utilized to conduct descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies, and inferential statistics including t tests in order to identify presence of absence of significant differences between means.

Students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requestive behaviors in different contexts. Students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requestive behaviors were measured by their abilities to provide appropriate requests in an empty slot in two open-ended DCTs with two varied contexts in each. Appropriate American requests were defined as those judged as appropriate by two native speakers of American English using a five-point-sorting scale adapted from Thurstone and Chave (1956). In other words, the degree of appropriateness of the American English requests provided by the learners was judged by two American English native speakers. Native speakers were utilized as judges in this task because optimal levels of approximation to native norms at various learning stages have not been established yet for testing purposes and "rules of appropriateness are part of any native speaker's competence in his/her language" (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985, p. 16). Thus,

native speakers' judgments of the degree of appropriateness of non-native speakers' requests are valid.

The two native speakers were presented with four piles of slips with the requests provided by the students. Each pile corresponded to a context. Students' requests were reproduced on small slips, one request for each slip. In addition, each request was duplicated to allow the native speakers judge the degree of appropriateness of each request twice for inter-rater reliability computation.

Proceeding with one pile at a time, the native speakers were asked to sort the requests into five piles to represent the degree of appropriateness along the following scale: 0 (most inappropriate), 1 (inappropriate), 2 (neutral), 3 (appropriate), and 4 (most appropriate). Disagreements between and within raters' scores were settled by computation of the mean of the scores. The results yielded an appropriateness index from 0 to 4 for each context, that is, from 0 to 16 for the entire request appropriateness task.

Request variations were measured in terms of the variety of linguistic devices that students provided in various contexts independently from the degree of appropriateness of the requests. This was based on the types of linguistic strategies of head acts and supportive moves in the CCSARP request coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a). The results yielded a variation ability index ranging from 0 to 2 for each of the two tasks, that is, a variation total score of 0 to 4 for both tasks.

The total score for request appropriateness and variation production ranged from 0 to 20. Variation scores for the requests whose level of appropriateness scores were less

than 2 were not included in the computation of learners' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requests.

Quantitative analysis of test data from the treatment and control groups was utilized to conduct descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies, and inferential statistics including t tests in order to identify presence of absence of significant differences between means.

Pearson product correlations were computed to examine the English Achievement Test reliability via intra-rater and inter-rater reliability and test split-half procedures.

Attitudes

Students' attitudes towards teaching/learning approaches. There were two types of data used to assess students' attitudes toward the two approaches as related to learning: (a) quantitative, and (b) qualitative.

Quantitative data. English students' attitudes towards teaching/learning approaches were measured by means of the degree to which they identified their opinions and/or feelings as indicated by the ratings of answers along a five-point-Likert type scale in the Student Questionnaire and the Student and Learning section in the Teacher Questionnaire. They were asked to rate their feelings, opinions, or beliefs, or two or all of these, about teaching approaches regarding the following 15 items: (a) amount of student voluntary participation, (b) student liking of approach, (c) student liking of activities, (d) student liking of group work, (e) student understanding of lesson, (f) relatedness of current knowledge and input enhancement, (g) student information retention, (h) approach and improvement of students' education quality, (i) student

motivation to learn enhancement, (j) student achievement increase, (k) student creativity enhancement, (l) amount of listening practice, (m) amount of speaking practice, (n) amount of reading practice, and (o) amount of writing practice.

Twenty available students in the experimental group were administered the Student Questionnaire in small groups. They were asked to rate each of the above items on a five-point Likert type scale by circling or underlining the word that best indicated their feelings or opinions in response to the statements along the following scale: 0 (not at all), 1 (not much), 2 (more or less), 3 (very much), and 4 (a lot). Two student informants' responses were excluded from the quantitative data analyses as they failed to differentiate statements related to the method used in their regular English class from those related to the cooperative consciousness-raising approach. This failure was indicated by their reference to the latter in all the rating justifications/explanations they provided. Also, students' ratings of the statement related to "liking of group work" were dropped from the quantitative data analyses as 38.88% of them ($n = 7$) reported absence of previous group work experience in their regular traditional English class. For each statement, the results yielded an attitude score from 0 to 4. For each approach, the results yielded an attitude score from 0 to 56. The results were described by means of descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies. Inferential statistics was used to identify presence or absence of significant differences between group means.

The English teacher was administered the Teacher Questionnaire. She was asked to rate each of the above 15 items in the Student and Learning section on a five-point-Likert type scale by circling or underlying the word that best indicated their feelings or

opinions in response to the statements along the same scale mentioned above. For each statement, the results yielded a student attitude score from 0 to 4. For each approach, the results yielded a student attitude score from 0 to 60.

Qualitative data. Qualitative data utilized to assess students' attitudes towards the two approaches were obtained from their item rating justifications/explanations. They were coded line-by-line in order to find emerging categories. The teacher's rating justifications/explanations were reported as presented.

Teacher's attitude towards teaching/learning approaches. Two types of data were used to assess the English teacher's attitude toward the two teaching approaches as related to teaching: (a) quantitative, and (b) qualitative.

Quantitative data. The English teacher's attitudes toward teaching/learning approaches were measured by means of the degree to which she identified her opinions and feelings as indicated by the rating of answers along a five-point Likert type scale in the Teacher Questionnaire. She was asked to rate her feelings, opinions, or beliefs, or two or all of these, about teaching approaches regarding the following: (a) teacher liking of approach, (b) teacher liking of activities, (c) teaching interest enhancement, (d) teaching motivation enhancement, (e) teacher confidence in approach use, (f) teacher challenge, and (g) teacher concern.

For each item, the results yielded a teacher attitude score from 0 to 4. For each approach, the results yielded a teacher attitude score from 0 to 28. Descriptive statistics were used to identify measures of central tendencies.

Qualitative data. Qualitative data employed to assess the English teacher's attitude toward the two approaches as related to teaching were obtained from her rating justifications/explanations. They were presented as reported and in relation to her rating of each item.

In sum, for each research question related to students' performances and attitudes in Study One, quantitative analyses were conducted. Descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies, and inferential statistics involving t tests were used to identify the presence or absence of significant differences between group means. For student attitude data related to scores given by the English teacher and data related to her attitude toward the two approaches, descriptive statistics including measures of central tendencies was conducted.

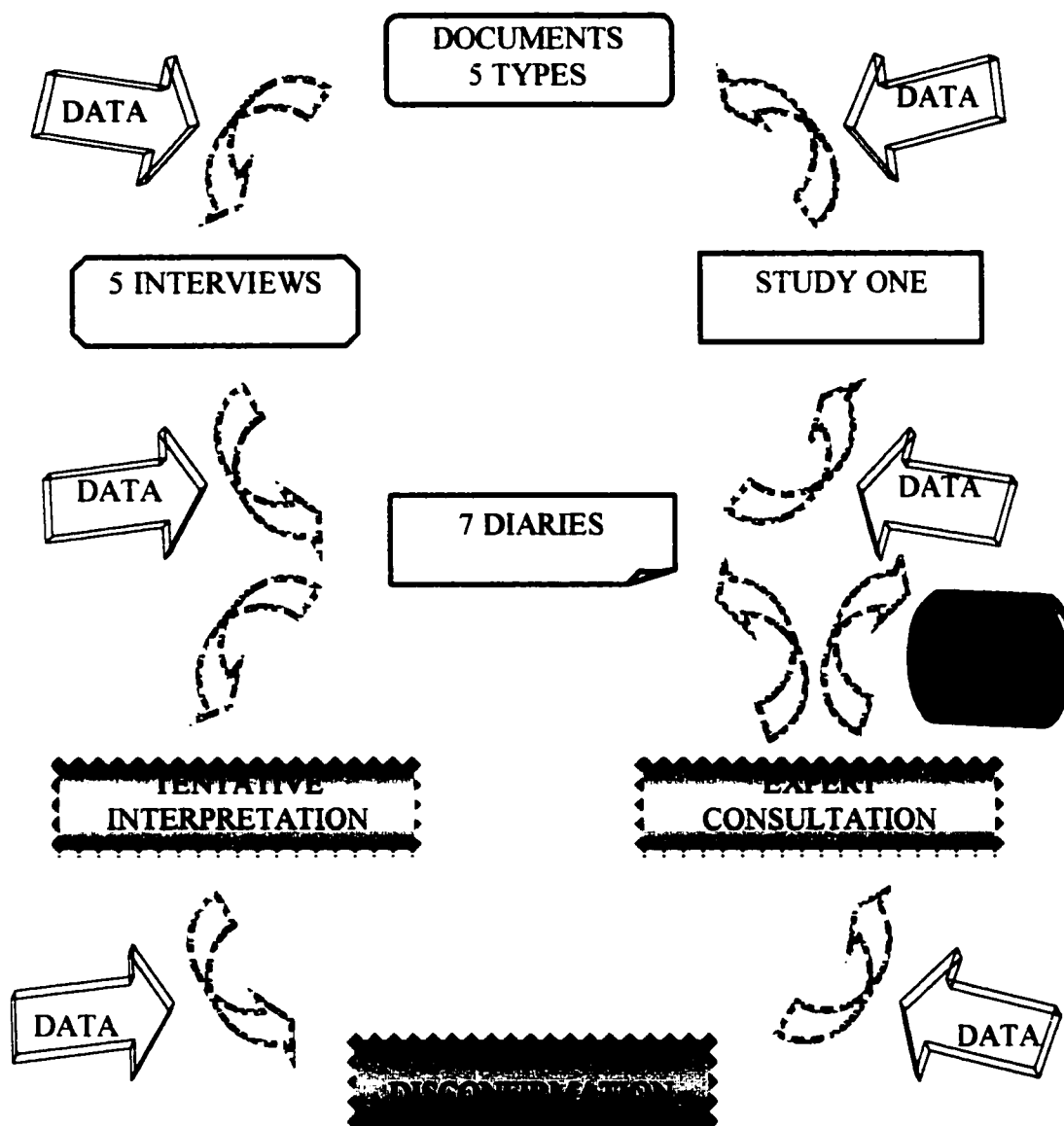
Study Two

Data collection. Multiple instruments and sources were employed to collect data for Study Two. They included the following: (a) diaries, (b) documents, (c) interviews, (d) meetings, (e) Researcher Notebook, and (f) Study One. Figure 4 displays Study Two data collection and analyses.

Diaries. Participants were each given a notebook to serve as a diary. They were asked to record their thoughts and feelings related to the study. Seven participants, four female and three male, returned their diaries. One teacher used hers as a diary of an observer.

Documents. Documents used for data collection included the following: (a) personal letters, (b) study materials, and (c) official documents.

Figure 4. Study Two Data Collection and Analyses.



Personal letters involved a letter dated October 26, 1999 from a participating student and her parents, three letters dated August 8, 1999, April 17, 2000, and December 19, 2000 from a participating teacher, two letters dated August 2, 1999 and February 1, 2000 from the school principal, a letter dated July 28, 2000 from an outside informant, and a preliminary study report dated June 27, 1999 sent by the researcher to all participating school personnel, authorities, students' parents' association, and other schools at community members' request.

Materials included more than 28 visual material items designed and used during the field study. Also included was a student' English class notebook.

Official documents comprised student lists and school records.

Interviews. Two participating teachers were formally interviewed. One was interviewed three times: prior to and after the teacher training, and after the implementation. The other was interviewed twice: prior to the teacher training and after the implementation. All interviews were tape recorded except for the last interview of the second teacher during which detailed notes had to be taken due to equipment breakdown.

Study One. Study One was also utilized as data source.

Design. Study Two, a qualitative study, utilized an emergent design in investigating how participants reacted to the introduction of the innovation, which is the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching/learning practice. The process was exploratory and recursive and lasted for more than one and a half years. I began with

initial analysis while on-site in search for problems related to Study One and to education in general in the Ambohitsaraianana region. The first teacher interviews were transcribed.

Formal and intensive analysis was carried out upon completion of the field study. Thoughts and feelings were recorded. Events were recalled and recounted with as much detail as possible. Utterances were reproduced using the language of the participants. Lineages were drawn based on participants' demographic information. Diaries and interviews were duplicated and coded and recoded line-by-line and globally as proposed by Coffey and Atkinson (1996). Categories were constructed as related to recurring patterns. The literatures on change and anthropology of Madagascar were revisited.

Linguistic elements were part of the data and associated with the social context as advised by Merriam (1998), including metaphors as they "can provide a useful way of thinking about and interpreting textual data" because they are "a ubiquitous feature of a culture's or an individual's thinking and discourse" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 85). Also included in the data analyzed were linguistic elements carrying specific cultural meanings, such as orientation of sentences (i.e., sentence voices), inclusive vs exclusive "we," and locative substitutes (Keenan, 1974, 1976; Keenan & Ochs, 1979; Rajaona, 1972). Noticeable highlighted modes of communication, such as double question marks, printed terms/words, body language, as well as the time of the field study, were also part of the data analyzed. Tentative interpretations were recorded. Disconfirmation of tentative interpretation(s) was purposefully sought via triangulation of data sources.

Several consultations with the chairperson and research person on my dissertation committee were sought for feedback.

Both insider and outsider perspectives informed my work and enabled me to better capture the phenomenon under investigation and analyze categories into participant factors embedded in their system realities. Insider perspectives can help search for causes linked to a group's shared learning experiences within a specific context, rather than causes connected to personality attributes (Schein, 1985).

Two procedures were used to display the data: First, descriptive composite portrayals are offered along with participant cases portrayals. Second, themes that emerged from data analyses and interpretations are provided.

The composite portrayals narrate the story of the study, emphasizing its relationship with the social context as suggested by Cortazzi (1993). Major components of the case are chronologically presented one by one, as proposed by Stake (1995) followed by the cases portrayals. They build on each other, as recommended by Piantanida and Garman (1999), and constitute the background of the analyses and interpretations. The themes obtained from these analyses and interpretations are presented with the result analyses and interpretations of Study One. The decision for such a display was informed by the nature of the dissertation which blends a quantitative and qualitative studies: Presenting the analyses and interpretations of both studies in a chapter would facilitate illustrations of the relationships between the them.

Qualitative Study Standards

Credibility

I was fully immersed 24 hours a day in the community of Ambohitsaraiaiana for more than three months. Intensive observations were conducted during that time period in various locations and at various occasions. My status as a native of Madagascar enabled me to fully interact and build connections with community members, participating school personnel, and students as well. I collected and triangulated data through various sources and instruments including achievement tests, questionnaires, interviews, observations, meetings, activity materials, and various official and personal documents. Several conferences were held with my dissertation chairperson and research person. Idea sharing and discussions were conducted with the approximately 600 members of the Malagasy Networking group serasera@egroups.com particularly with regard cultural meanings and/or significance of Malagasy terms, words, and/or proverbs and sayings. The same was done with a colleague as related to American translations of these words. Additional information was obtained from participants and outside school informants via telephone communications for more than a year after the completion of the field study. Interrelated portrayals moving from outside into inside are offered to expose the researcher's orientation and perspective as both participant and investigator.

Transferability

Transferability is reader-determined. Thick descriptions and a substantial amount of first-person accounts are provided to enable readers to give their own interpretations and compare the situation being presented with their own situations.

Ethics

As Merriam (1998) contends, dissemination of findings from qualitative studies can raise ethical problems. I have utilized anonymity to preserve participants' confidentiality and privacy. I have made explicit to them the future uses of the data obtained. This study is free from outside pressure as it has received no sponsorship. Most importantly, ethics was a major motive for the completion of Study Two. This motive gave me energy to engage in the unknown path toward the results. This energy, nurtured by Dr. Stefanich's, Dr. Boody's, and Dr. Doody's *gemeinschaft*-based leadership, gave me the strengths to walk extra painful miles to complete this study so that I can present my own perspectives of the case.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTIVE PORTRAYALS

The eight portrayals presented in this chapter attempt to illustrate and depict a composite picture of my participants and myself within the specific context of Ambohitsaraianana. They build on each other to provide the context for understanding the process of innovation introduction and the complex interrelationships between individual realities and the larger reality of the region. The first five portrayals, Gaining Access, Teacher Training Day, Public Conflict, Student Training, and Implementation, chronologically describe significant events and place key participants within the region, school, and classroom context. The three participant portrayals provide additional information about the teacher cases and enable the reader to consider their efforts, dilemmas, struggles, and growth as they collectively, individually, and differentially experience learning in relation to their own, others', and the community realities.

The Gaining Access Portrayal

Today is Friday, April 30, 1999. Eleven days are already gone since my arrival at the Ivato airport. I hope today I'll be able to make my first stand in the main activity field of the Ambohitsaraianana region, the heartland I've selected to conduct my research.

My watch tells me that I've been up for a few hours. This is the second bowl of coffee I've been drinking since I finished my morning rice. Its fragrance has filled the entire surrounding air, wrapping the most reluctant non-coffee drinker passing by Oldest Sister's small shop. As I gaze around the room then through the west window, I

perceive a novel but familiar scenic environment: the wall paint, the floor materials, the fence, the scent of plants, the sounds, the people, the color of the sky and land. It has been almost six years that I haven't enjoyed this milieu, the milieu of the land-of-my-ancestors.

I rush to the door, awakened by a horn. The Senator, the spokesperson of the Ambohitsaraianana region, is standing next to the passenger door of his 4X4 Toyota as I emerge from the in-between-house path leading to the main street, a big smile on his face. His ceremony-like attire tells me that today must be an out-of-the-ordinary day.

I'd like to ask him whether we'll arrive on time in Ambohitsaraianana to hint that they are late, but prefer not to as I almost hear him respond, "Don't worry, dear! I'm a child-of-Elders'. I follow the ways-of-the-Ancestors. I begin important events at a certain time."

After a short drive, the traffic slows down and comes to a standstill: A herd of zebus is ahead. This scene has always fascinated me: For some reason, car drivers would comply with zebu chasers' instructions. Whenever a herd of zebus passes by, vehicles from the opposite direction line up on the roadside and don't move until the whole herd has passed. They appear to have great significance in Madagascar. Virtually each and every part of their body is valuable. Their meat is a preferred Malagasy food. Their offal is much appreciated; their skin is used to make bags, shoes, purses, drums, tambourines, and furniture, among others. Their horns are a favorite material for body, house, and tombstone ornaments. Zebus are the helpers par excellence for rice field work and goods transportation in the countryside. They are present at almost every ritual

ceremony such as circumcision, *famadihana*--the turning of the ancestors' remains, *alafady*--taboo lifting, weddings, funerals, and others. They symbolize riches. They take center stage all over the *Tanindrazana*--the Land-Of-The-Ancestors.

After driving for a few hours, the Senator suggests that my window "be rolled down as we're taking red dirt road." The passive imperative used in his request reminds me of Dr. Z.'s "Not English" comment next to an example of request in the same voice and mode I utilized in a cross-cultural pragmatics paper. I wanted to comment back "Is Malagasy! I'm comparing Malagasy and American English requests." I preferred forgetting about my idea, as I understood that such grammatical structures, the passive and circumstantial voices in the imperative mode, look and sound odd to American English speakers. They are so unusual to them, indeed, that my audience at the 1998 Urbana-Champaign Twelfth Annual International Conference on Pragmatics and Language Learning asked for more detailed explanations. From my vantage point, they could be as inconceivable to native speakers of American English as a "Why don't you roll down your window" to native speakers of Malagasy in such a context. I can almost hear the Senator explain, "I'm a child-of-the-Elders. I know how to use the language of the ancestors in its social context. I've used the passive voice in my request because my focus was on the 'window,' the grammatical object, rather than on 'you as an individual,' the agent. Had I used the active voice, you'd find it rude and you might feel confronted. That is not my goal. I respect *vahiny* since I'm a child-of-the-Elders, a child of the people of the Land-Of-My-Ancestors."

As we proceed deeper into the heart of the land, I can feel all of my organs bouncing around inside, my body at the mercy of incessant random forward, backward, sideward, and upward jolts. Swirls of red dirt invade the inside of the vehicle. The green grass and plants bordering the road have become red velvet-textured. Each side of the road offers an out-of-the-ordinary background scene. Rice fields resemble an immense sea of waves with a lime-to-golden color spectrum. Terraced fields decorate areas at hill intersections, like fish scale patterns. Forests of rushes fringe ponds like long eyelashes. Chains of hills stretch along the horizon. Their slopes offer a beautiful quilt-patterned background, unlike those of their counterparts in some regions of the Highlands, which are dotted with huge red holes. Family tombstones majestically stand in the middle of crop fields watching over the whole land and scattered villages, like three-dimensional stamps. The blue sky roofs the ensemble to form a whole indivisible entity.

I almost feel dizzy, incessantly turning my head to the left, to the right, and to the left, enchanted by the incredible picture. "Do you know where we are now, dear?" says the Senator as if to orient me. "A few days ago, we went around, around, and around that way," his right arm stretched outside the truck window, drawing an invisible circular line running over the horizon. "And we arrived in Downwest Village, which is over there," pointing to a place beyond the hills. "I have my own way of doing things. I'm a child-of-the-Elders. Downwest Village is always my starting point whenever I enter our region for an important project. I'm sure you'll like it here. Have you noticed? If you go to the fields and pick up dirt, you'll see that our soil over here is like edible," he explains,

slowly lifting his cupped hand up to his mouth. “We don’t need to use fertilizers, and everything grows here. It’s a great blessing, it’s a great blessing.”

After a short drive, Faly pulls over the roadside in front of a cluster of houses. As the Senator and I are still walking down onto a courtyard, human swarms emerge from nowhere. In a glimpse of the eye, we’re surrounded by a thick crowd. Breathily-voiced teachers have been “striding out” toward the group as they have been “informed that the Senator has arrived over there.” After greeting encounters, the Senator says: “We’re going to the Ambohitsaraianana City. We’re a bit in a hurry but decided to stop by so that we’re not just passing by villages where there are *havana*--family. She is our *vahiny*-guest, our *havana*--family--from America. So, here she is among us, in accord with the promise given to you by me. We’ll arrange a meeting later if you need to talk to her. For now, let’s have your blessing so that we can leave because Ambohitsaraianana is still far away.”

As we’re going back to the truck, two teenagers emerge from behind the front house, each carrying a huge plaited grass basket on their heads. A woman explains, “These are seeds of the road to take home for the kids, avocados and rice.” “They are products of the land,” continues a man as he helps the teenagers put the seeds of the road into the back of the truck. This behavior sounds familiar. Malagasy hospitality! Visiting *vahiny*-guests should be served something to eat or offered something to bring home, or both, whatever is in the hosts’ control. I remember the amazement and embarrassment of this Peace Corps Director’s Assistant when she was offered a bottle of on-the-spot homemade ground hot pepper as a seed of the road for her when the hosting family heard

her say that she liked it during a lunch: A Malagasy way of showing warm welcome, a way-of-the-Ancestors.

As we are back on the road, my thoughts work out through the line the Senator would draw between me as a “*vahiny*-foreigner” and me as a “*vahiny*-guest, member of the family.” Indeed, the line seems to shift positions depending on the contexts. While talking to these people, he referred to me as “family” suggesting the status of a “guest.” A few minutes before that, he’d used the exclusive possessive adjective “our” when commenting on the great quality of the soil in the region, indicating that “I am not among the owners of the soil, unlike him.” To emphasize this exclusion, he added “*aty aminay aty*”— at this place where I am now and which is my family’s and mine but not yours! Well, I’m glad I know the Malagasy language: It helps me behave in accordance with whichever side of this dividing line my interlocutors place me in as conveyed in the linguistic devices they use.

“This is the High School,” the Senator suddenly says, pointing to the left. I turn my head to follow the direction of his finger and look. The ivory-colored building is located on the slope of a hill. A deep valley separates it from the road leading to the center of the Ambohitsaraianana City. Almost all of the windows and doors are closed. Nobody is around, at least outside. Today is Friday. Why does it seem like there is no class? I hope I can meet with the school staff and faculty today so that I can begin my study. I am already far behind my planned schedule.

After short visits to two *Raiamandreny*—Respected Adults of the city, we head to the High School with the President of the region. We drive up a street, not as bad as the

long road leading to the city. Then we go down. Faly suddenly slows down: I can see a very steep road ahead. I quickly grasp at the dashboard to avoid being thrown out of the window at successive jolts. The vehicle clings to the right side, then to the left side, and back again, as Faly avoids the deep channel-like hole in the middle of the road. Then, the road abruptly ends in a small flat area. At last, we are within the Ambohitsaraianana High School grounds.

The Principal greets us in front of his office, a room in a small rectangular house perpendicular to the classroom building. His face looks familiar: I wonder where I met him!

When we enter the meeting classroom on the second floor, a few individuals are waiting. The room is filled with three rows of bench tables – forms, the British would call them. In the front, there is a teacher desk, two chairs, and a bench table. The chalkboard is clean.

“Dear Family-and-Friends,” the Senator begins his speech. “My first word is lifting guilt, lifting guilt for our being late. For there are several responsibilities to be fulfilled. As is known by all of us--you and me--the inter-school sports tournament took place today, and we had to attend its official opening. That’s why we’re a bit late like this. After that, thank you very much for being patient and waiting for us. According to our Ancestors’ proverb, ‘arriving without greeting (people) is equivalent to being mad.’ So we’re greeting all of you here present. I won’t make a long *kabary*--a formal speech--because you’ve already been waiting long, and the day is already getting into evening. I’ll make my talk simplified. We’re here today, that is, the President of the Region, the

Head of the Regional Department of Education and I, to show our *vahiny* from America, Sahoby, to you. So here she is in front of you--in flesh and blood--in accordance with the promise given to you by me. She's already been to Downwest Village. She's met with many people in villages in our region. When hearing her suggestions to resolve school and classroom problems raised by teachers, I was surprised by their practicality. I believe she can help us regarding problems encountered in classrooms and schools, and ways to improve education. She speaks and understands the Malagasy language very well, unlike *vazaha-vahiny*--white foreigners from other countries--with whom interactions are very troublesome. You won't have trouble talking to her and she won't have trouble talking to you. We should take advantage of her being here: We were looking for cooking-pot supports and unexpectedly found stones. That's great fortune for us, great fortune from God and the Ancestors. For let the following be said: Sahoby had not included Ambohitsaraianana in the list of regions to conduct her study. But she'd read about our improvement efforts and accomplishments in various areas, and decided to select Ambohitsaraianana as her site. So we thank her for choosing us. I hope you will collaborate with her for the good of our succeeding generations. I hope that you won't push her away with the fist back. That's what I wanted to say, in general. I declare that the study to be conducted is open. We'll be really glad to answer your questions, if any. But before that, I noticed that the street leading here is really bad and shameful. Maybe the *vahiny* is really stunned saying to herself, 'Even the street leading down to the high school is in such an ugly shape!' It needs to be fixed, because it's shameful. So, when

you're ready to fix it, don't hesitate to inform me. I'm ready to carry baskets of pebbles with you."

I've been feeling some discomfort for some reason, perhaps because of jet lag, or the anxiety created by the jolts down the street, or the oddity of the situation. My feeling has increased as rays of the sun had filtered through the half-open window on the west side wall, and hit my face, like a spotlight, blinding me until two or three individuals sneaked outside to fix the problem. I look around: Everybody seems to wait for someone else to go first, a behavior common to many Malagasy in similar circumstances.

At the Senator's encouragement, individuals begin to ask questions.

Mr. A: What are the roles of the Malagasy and American governments in this study?

Sahoby: Neither the Malagasy nor the American government has a role in the study. The money spent for it is mine. I've asked for funding from a non-governmental agency, but haven't received any feedback yet.

Ms. B: What exactly is your study about?

Sahoby: It's about teaching approaches. That is, we'll look at two teaching approaches, one is new and the other isn't that new. So we'll see which of them is better as for students' performances, for example.

The Senator: Let's look at Anglo-Saxon approaches and see what they give us. Before, we have never looked at how they work.

Sahoby: The new approach is believed and said to be new by educators all over the world, including French-speaking educators.

Mr. C.: Is the new one really different from what we got from the French?

Sahoby: To me, yes, they are different.

The Senator: Well, but that means fighting against the French! I cannot fight against them because I can't beat them, I can't beat them!

Sahoby: I'm not fighting against the French. As was just said by me, the new one is believed to be new by educators including French-speaking educators. But anyway, why shouldn't teachers be given opportunities to know about various teaching approaches? Then, it's they who choose which ones they want to use in their classrooms? That's one of my goals. Why shouldn't we give them that opportunity?

All eyes are directed to me. The Senator is also looking at me with his mouth wide open. Maybe my words were too strong. But anyway, I'm glad that I could give very clear explanations on that matter.

After a short silence, Ms. D. expresses her agreement with my explanations, and Ms. B. joins in. A short discussion on my political party affiliations and stay in Ambohitsaraiaiana ends the first part of the meeting. The Senator, the President of the region, the Head of the Department of Education, and the president of the students' associations have to leave for other meetings.

As I look around the room, some faces look familiar among the remaining audience although I can't match names to them. Except for one, they are sitting in pairs, leaving the east side row and back bench tables in the other two rows empty. As I look for a seat to get closer to the group, I notice a sitting arrangement in the shape of a big hook mark, a question mark as Americans would call it. I begin the session right after small talks to catch up with my schedule.

"We haven't had the opportunity to know each other very well. So, perhaps, it's better if each of us tells about him/herself. Let me begin. My name is Sahoby Raharinirina and I'd like to be called 'Sahoby.' I've been living in the United States for about six years. I'm now working on my dissertation. I'm a member of Phi Delta Kappa International. It's a non-profit organization whose mission includes promoting democracy in schools, mainly public schools. Some of you already know that I've worked at the *Unité d'Etudes et de Recherche Pédagogiques* at Ampelohina in Antananarivo. That's basically who and what I am. If you have questions, I'll be glad to answer them. Before you introduce yourselves, I'd like to reiterate the following: Your

participation in the study is voluntary. In other words, you don't have any obligation to participate in it. And even after you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from it whenever you feel like it. Your decision to participate or not participate will not affect your job."

After the 13 participants' self introduction, questions begin to tumble down one after the other, like a chain of multicolored beads:

"What's your schedule?"

"How long is the study going to last?"

"What subject areas will be affected?"

"How is it going to be done?"

"Is it planned or is it going to be done at random?"

"What will the results be used for?"

"How did you end up in Ambohitsaraiaiana?"

"How good is that new approach?"

"Are you really from America?"

"Are you going to give us hand-outs to read beforehand?"

"Where are you staying in Ambohitsaraiaiana?"

"What are the differences between what you're going to do and what was done in previous training?"

"Who sponsors the study?"

"We need very clear explanations, otherwise we won't do anything."

"Can this new approach of yours be used to teach music, too?"

Follow-up comments are as long and repetitive as the questions:

"We're very busy over here."

“We don’t have time for anything else.”

“We need hand-outs. Where was there training without anything to read before the sessions?”

“This time of the year is very busy.”

“Whatever you do here, you won’t get nothing. The kids are lazy.”

“The Ambohitsaraiaiana people don’t care about education.”

“Students’ parents over here are poor, unlike Americans in the United States”

“Students’ knowledge is very weak.”

“Even if you walk on your head, you won’t get any good results.”

It’s getting late. We decide to end the meeting. I’m glad that most of the teachers are willing to participate despite their dissatisfaction with answers to some of their questions, mainly those related to jigsaw techniques. Ms. Raivo and Ms. Manga will show me the shortcut home.

As I walk through the door, Mr. Nasolo rushes, stands in my way, and says: “You don’t know anything about realities in Madagascar, mainly in Ambohitsaraiaiana, you know nothing.” I slowly turn sideways and answer: “I’ve worked at the *Unité d’Etude et de Recherche Pédagogique* in the Training Division, and I’ve taught in Ambohitravavatra--a city around this region.”

As we step down the stairs, Mr. Nasolo suggests that I “consider teachers’ hard work” based on a “miscarriage that a teacher has just experienced,” thus “asking teachers to do additional work would be murder.”

As I get onto the veranda of my new home after a dinner at my new landlords, I look up: Thousands of stars decorate the clear sky, like beautiful chains of pearls. Waves of moon rays are running across the valleys, rendering the dark night bright. “This is a best time to begin an important event,” Grandpa and Grandma would point out to me, had they been present. “The moon is full. Last two-week period is rising-moon. This a most auspicious time for beginning great events which one wants to ‘rise’ like the rising moon, and to be ‘complete’ like the full moon.” I haven’t paid attention to this teaching of Grandpa and Grandma’s for almost six years now. I’m now in Madagascar, for sure.

A Teacher Training Day Portrayal

“Hello!” Rafara’s singing voice rises from the bottom of the stairs to our room.

“Come on in, oh! Rafara,” I welcome her.

“How are you [two] doing?” she asks as she gets to the outside doorstep.

“[We’re] Healthy, thanks. How are you [all] over there?” I reply.

“We’re all healthy, thanks,” Rafara says. “Here is the morning rice,” she continues, handing the usual basket she brings our meals in to Noro, her old tan straw hat almost hiding her forehead.

“Thanks a lot! You’re really busy [because of us],” I say.

“No! No! There’s [nothing] making [us] busy. These [dishes] are not prepared separately from ours. You are the ones that are busy. Look! This early in the morning, you’re already working,” Rafara says, seeing me kneeling on the floor, finishing up the last touches with the posters to be used for today’s training session.

“These [posters] will be used today, so [they] must be finished,” I answer.

“Does Aunt Sahoby still need soybeans? These [soybeans] seem dried up,” she asks referring to the soybeans we’ve placed in the northwest corner of the room. She’s brought them at my request for the design of teacher training materials.

“These indeed look dried up,” I say, looking at the soybeans. “But I’ll probably need some later, not now.”

“Let me know [passive imperative] when Aunt Sahoby needs [some more]. There are plenty [of them] in the fields, so don’t hesitate [to tell],” she offers.

“Yes, I’ll let you know when [I] need [some], don’t worry!” I accept.

“Alright!” she says. “This is it then because I’m in a bit of a hurry. [I’ll] Still [have to] go to the market.”

“Alright, Rafara. Thanks a lot!” I reply.

“No thanks,” she says as she turns away to take the stairs.

“They sent beef brain,” Noro exclaims, getting the dishes out of the basket.

“They’ve also sent milk.”

“And [how about] coffee?” I ask.

“There’s also coffee,” she answers. “Does Aunt need [some] now?” she asks.

The Rafarahys are our landlords. They always make sure to “send us rice” mainly when they notice that we’re busy, or when they can find food that I particularly like. They know that I love beef brain through Faly who asked me about what food I like and said after asking that, “it’s wanted to be known by them [the Rafarahys].”

“Maybe it’s preferable to eat rice [for fear] it will get cold,” I say. “I’m glad because [I’ll] eat beef brain again. I really like it [passive voice],” I say, excited.

“Yes, I was also asked about what you like by Aunt Ramialy, because they don’t want to send food that you don’t like,” Noro explains.

“Sometimes I’m really ashamed (embarrassed) because of what’s they do for us [passive voice],” I say.

Small talk. Doing this. Finishing that. It’s already 8:15. Today is Saturday. The Teacher Training session is supposed to start at 9:00. Time to rush. Rather, time to slowly rush.

As we step on the street outside the unfinished gate, rushing becomes irrelevant. Good neighborhoodship requires noticing and interacting with each other.

“Going to work?” Aunt Ramialy asks with her soft and slow-rhythm voice, as she begins to slowly step down the outside stairs of their house, which is on the opposite side of the road.

“Yes, going to work again,” I reply, as I approach their bigger gate, knowing that she’d like to “talk” for a while as usual.

“How are you [two] doing?” she continues as she walks towards us.

“[We’re] Healthy, thanks. Are all of us [inclusive of addressee] here healthy? Is Uncle Rafaralahy healthy?” I ask.

“Yes, he’s healthy, thanks. Everybody is healthy.”

“Thanks for the morning rice, you’re [made] busy [by us],” I reiterate.

“What makes us busy? There is nothing which makes us busy. Your brother—Rafaralahy--went to the office up there, and he was chased after by a butcher who told him that the beef brain had been saved for the *vahiny*. So your brother went and bought it,” she explains.

“Oh! Yeah?” I say, finding nothing else to say.

“Yes,” she continues. “You are working hard [and] nonstop so [you] need good food. The Senator wants you to be taken care of very well. We can’t even do much; when you work [late] in the evening, you should be picked up by car by us, but the time you come back home is unknown,” Ramialy says, indirectly asking for precision.

“The problem is that our coming-back-home time is never known. It depends on the work completion [time],” I explain.

“Yes, that’s what makes it difficult. But if you need to be picked up, don’t hesitate to inform or call [us].”

“We won’t hesitate, don’t worry, dear,” I answer.

“You have been kept long by me, yet you’re in a hurry,” she says, showing understanding.

“So we are leaving, then,” I answer, looking at my watch. It’s almost 8:25.

On our way to the high school, such social encounters abound, although shorter and not as elaborate: [Are you] Healthy? Is work going well? At each encounter, we usually have to stop or slow down our pace. No matter how often we meet individuals in a day, there needs to be small talk. Are the *vahiny tamana*? (are the guests/foreigners feeling comfortable and like living here?). Going to work again? Everyday “meeting”

encounters are very important in this suburban-rural community. Because of these, Noro and I can't talk to each other very much on our way to the high school.

Noro, a dear niece of mine, never complains. She is here to keep me company and help out with whatever I need help with, the family decided. She cooks, cleans, does the dishes, helps cut paper, does the laundry, goes to Antananarivo from time to time to get money and see how the family are, and runs to the stores to get "stuff." Without her, I don't know how I would deal with the teacher training at the elementary public school and at the private school, on top of the one at the high school. Probably, I wouldn't even have clean clothes to wear. Good kid of the family!

As we pass by Ms. Raivo's traditionally-shaped brick house, I look up towards her wooden-fenced deck facing the street, expecting her to show up to give a sign that she's still home, as usual.

"Probably, she's already left," I say to Noro as Ms. Raivo hasn't given any sign.

"Probably," Noro answers.

No! Wrong! As we arrive at the intersection leading to the shortcut path to the high school, Ms. Raivo's voice strikes us, "Hey! Wait for me! [passive imperative]." We turn around to see her at the window on the south side. "I'm already ready," she adds. I just nod my head to signal that we'll wait for her, unwilling to shout from about a fifteen-meter distance. It's 8:35, my watch indicates.

A sudden strong wind blows my hat off my head while waiting for Ms. Raivo, strong enough to take my breath away! Dust and sand get into my half-open mouth and my eyes. Apparently sunglasses can't "screen" dust and sand. I turn away to avoid

further damage, get my handkerchief out of my jean pants pocket to clean my tongue and the corners of my eyes. Noro is chasing my hat, helped by a passing-by girl. This city is evidently built on a chain of hills and their slopes, that's why such strong winds hit you on the spot so frequently!

As the three of us walk at Ms. Raivo's slow pace along the 50-centimeter-wide path, our small talk often helps us forget about the somehow steep slope of the hill ahead that we have to take. Family health. Family matters. Training topics. The weather. Lack of sleep. Neighborhood community's decision to "fix" the path. The shade of the tall pine trees. A chain of small talk, occasionally interrupted by greetings from neighborhood individuals, by steps to the side to give room to pedestrians going the other direction, or by Ms. Raivo's interjection, "Hey, the little baby is sliding down. Have the [piece of] cloth tightened up well," to a child carrying a younger sibling on her back.

Upon arrival midway through the little pine tree forest, I almost always feel like the string of my thoughts stops flowing: The bundle of six huts ahead has always been a mystery to me. Looking at their straw roofs and mud walls, I'd say that their dwellers are poor. But considering the two bulls, a bull cart, and the diverse crop of beans being sun-dried in the yard, I'd suggest that these people aren't that poor. More puzzling is the sharp contrast between these huts and the high school, which is about ten meters down the slope on the west side of the hill. They look so small, clustered together, and hard to notice given the thick and high shrub fences along the west and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the north borders of their yards, as if they were hiding from somebody or something. These fences, like other

people's, do not generally mean "No trespassing." Passing through fenced-in yards seems a common practice, as in many rural areas in Madagascar.

As I step down onto the high school yard following Ms. Raivo and before Noro, I look through the Principal's office glass window to notice that he's out. The yard is clean as usual. The huge lawn looks beautiful with the recently planted trees, scattered. The flowers along the flat in front of the offices have been watered. The office concrete floors are shiny, so shiny that I can't tell whether or not anybody has been in. Students in charge must have cleaned yesterday after class. The stairs leading to the classroom aren't as steep as those at home. The concrete steps, deck, and classroom floors are somehow rough in contrast to those of the offices. No striking garbage around. Just some dust that students couldn't sweep up.

"How is Haja doing?" I say, seeing Haja helping Noro put up the posters.

"[I'm] Healthy, thanks. How is Sahoby doing?" he reciprocates my greeting.

"Good, thanks," I say as I pull the chair out from under the teacher desk, making sure not to bump Ms. Raivo, who is busy wiping the desktop.

This room has been my new workplace for a bit more than two weeks now. The walls have been painted dark brown to up the bottom of the three windows, and grayish to up the wood ceiling. The outside window and door panes are dark brown like the bottom parts of the walls. The white paint of the inside glass window frames has tarnished like the top part of the walls. The room is filled with three rows of six wood forms each. Two brooms stand next to a pail in the corner. The north wall becomes more and more crowded with colorful visual materials mingling local culture, products, and

language, displaying intellectual endeavor outcomes. A title banner crossing half of the top side of the chalkboard says, Torchbearers: Collaborative-Self-and-Other-Development hung on a straight branch carried by two Malagasy, a man and a woman, on their shoulders. Up in the left corner, an interaction-rule square-like sheet is entitled, Community Without Grudge. Below, three rectangular paper posters respectively display a hand-shaking picture, five ants carrying food, and pictures of rice-pounding people and of hot pepper varieties. Covering almost half of the bottom right-hand side of the chalkboard, a cumulative three-leaf summary poster exhibits a jigsaw hut on a tree with its roots anchoring a Malagasy child's world, a cluster of learning theories, and cooperative learning study results, from left to right. A smaller Multiple Intelligence poster is taped on the right-hand wall.

It's a bit after 9:00. The front room has become more crowded as participants have joined Ms. Raivo and Mr. Haja. They have come to consider these first ten to fifteen minutes as a multi-purpose time: exploring new materials and/or re-exploring old ones, jotting down additional notes, commenting on significant features, sharing community or personal concerns or news, and waiting for latecomers. Noro is seated at her after-a-busy-night spot next to the east window in the back, leaning against the classroom communication door. Her right arm and shoulder must be sore from a late night of material handwriting. So are mine. This Johannesburg airport agent was really careless for having dropped the laptop!

“She’s going to ask about the reason why it’s this that has been put here!” Mr. Rakoto shouts, his finger pointing to the study results eye-base, and turning his head toward me, smiling.

“Alright! Let’s begin the session,” I say, taking the opportunity, after smiling back at Mr. Rakoto. “Everybody is here, so it’s preferable we begin.”

X: Yeah! And I must go somewhere, too, after the session.

Sahoby: We [exclusive of addressee] have training sessions with other schools afterwards, too. . . . Last time, we [inclusive of addressee] could not do the evaluation of the presentations. So, it’s probably better if what we did is summarized.

Ms. Raivo: OK! Ours is this hand-shaking picture. This shows that if it is cooperation that is used when working, then, it is good products that are obtained. So, cooperation is better than individual work. That’s basically what is contained in this picture. . .

Mr. Nasolo: Yes, also, there are two types of competition: ‘Holy competition’ and ‘tripping competition.’ With ‘tripping competition,’ one is tripping one’s competitors in order to win; But with holy competition, there is no tripping. You just compete to win.

Ms. Manga: Yes, so, collaboration is best, like in game teams. Just remember basketball games, and you’ll never forget about collaboration [passive imperative].

Ms. Raivo: That’s basically what ours is about.

A round of applause is given to the proud group.

Mr. Haja: [going toward the board] Ours, on the other hand, concerns ants’ manners: As is seen in this picture, these three ants are collaborating to carry this huge load of food to their home hole. The food is heavy so, obviously, it can’t be carried by a single ant; they need a lot of food because they are a big, big family. And this ant down here is also collaborating by carrying food; And this fifth ant is joining the latter to help. So, for what’s said by us isn’t forgotten, ‘observe ants’ work [passive imperative] because collaboration is good.’ That’s ours [smiling].

Another round of applause emanates from the audience.

Mr. Zoto [walking toward the front]: Ours deals with collaboration, individual work, and competition. These two people over here are cooperating in pounding rice paddies. Their goal is to finish pounding these four bags of rice paddies. They are done with two bags and they are still very enthusiastic. The man over here also has to pound four bags of rice paddies. However, his enthusiasm is decreasing because he hasn't finished pounding even a bag of rice paddies after hours of hard work. So, to us, collaboration is better because working together gives more energy and yields more results, and each individual benefits from the work products.

Ms. Lala [taking over]: Yes. In addition, we think that competition is the worst of the three types of ways of working, because if one is weak, one is eaten up by a more powerful entity. And both suffer, like someone who eats hot pepper. He/she suffers because of the pepper's heat, and the pepper is eaten up, too. So nobody gains. That's about ours.

The audience applauds again.

Sahoby: Very interesting! Thank you all! Are there any thoughts?

Ms. Raivo: The variety of drawings and explanations is additional evidence of the multiple intelligences discussed before; That is, all the groups started with the same materials and ideas, but each group had its own way of showing and explaining its products.

Sahoby: Excellent observation! Anything else?

Mr. Zoto: Concerning the "shaking-hand" and "ants" materials: Where are the definitions and explanations of competition and individual work?

Ms. Ravolona: They're in there!

Mr. Parany: In there, where?

Ms. Raivo [insisting]: In there!

Mr. Nasolo: The instructions were unclear: They were gibberish so [they were] hard to understand.

Sahoby: What was gibberish in them?

Mr. Nasolo: They were just gibberish . . .

Mr. Zoto [interrupting]: The instructions were very clear saying, “invent definitions for cooperation, individual work, and competition!”

Ms. Raivo: OK! OK! We forgot to talk about individual work and competition. We just focused on what is best, and that’s all.

Mr. Haja: Our “competition” and “individual work” definitions are reflected in the two ants below!

The others respond with unconvinced smiles.

Sahoby: So, these are findings from your analyses. How about everyday life: Do people collaborate in everyday life?

Ms. Solo: Oh yes, every day, people always collaborate.

Sahoby: How about kids? Do they participate in the collaboration, too? What do they do?

A chain of answers moves too quickly for comments to be formulated.

“Children go fetch water.”

“[They] Pound rice paddies”

“[They] Fetch firewood”

“[They] Clean the house”

“[They] Look after their siblings”

“[They] Do the dishes”

“[They] Cook rice”

“[They] Go to the market”

“[They] Feed animals”

“[They] Do crop field work”

Sahoby: How about in school: Do the kids collaborate?

Mr. Rakoto: Yes, they do!

Sahoby: What do they do?

Ms. Lala: Office floor brushing.

Mr. Zoto: Classroom sweeping.

Sahoby: How about in class: What collaborative work do they do? Do they collaborate?

All eyes are looking down.

Sahoby: Alright! So they don't collaborate in class. Other things: When we recount tales to kids at home, how is the way we sit?

Ms. Raivo: Circular!

Sahoby: How is our sitting arrangement at *hira gasy* performances? (see Appendix F)

Ms. Raivo: Circular! [turning halfway to the right, her hands up in the air before falling onto her lap] Oh, my GO-O-O-O-D! So that's what's called 'learner-centered' [approach] hein! Unexpected, I haven't expected even a tiny bit of that!

Sahoby: Good inductive conclusion! [moving towards the cumulative poster]. The jigsaw techniques dealt with and discussed so far are based on these main three foundations: the Malagasy student world here on the left, learning theories here in the middle, and study results on the right. Generally, teachers choose their teaching approaches based on one or more of these foundations: Which one is the foundation of the teaching approaches used by us in class?

Mr. Parany: All of these should be brought into classrooms but none gets there.

Ms. Sariaka [looking towards Mr. Parany, angry]: That's a statement on the part of those that don't teach in classrooms.

Mr. Parany smiles in response.

Ms. Raivo: This [technique] doesn't work for the teaching of the Malagasy language teaching.

Sahoby: OK! Can you give specific examples or topics, and explanations on why this technique doesn't work for Malagasy?

No answer. All heads are down.

Sahoby: Well! If there isn't any example or justification, it's better for us not to say, "This doesn't work," because in the long run, that attitude can turn into negativism.

Mr. Haja: That's for you, hey, Mr. Nasolo: If all the time one says, "This doesn't work," with no justification, then one can become negativist!

Oh! I thought it was Ms. Raivo who said, "The technique doesn't work for Malagasy teaching!"

Sahoby [hurriedly]: What I am saying is this: First, just saying, "This or that doesn't work" without explaining why can slow down what's being done; Second, our communication rules on this sheet include, "When I criticize an idea, I will give justifications." . . . Anything else?

Mr. Rakoto: How can this technique be used if there isn't any material? We don't even have U.S. maps and books for history and geography.

Sahoby: Isn't there any chapter on the U.S. in books in the library upstairs? I went there and all of the books were covered with thick dust. Maybe there's something about the U.S. in them, don't you think?

Mr. Rakoto: There is nothing about the U.S., I tell ya!

Sahoby: Alright! If that's the case, who would volunteer to come with me to Antananarivo to get U.S. materials from the American Cultural Center?

Mr. Rakoto is smiling. Others are staring at me.

Sahoby [continues]: Nobody? Well, you'll have U.S. maps and materials next training session. I promise you. Anything else? . . . Oh! Before I forget: It would tremendously help if your drawings were reproduced on regular size paper for them to be included in our brochure.

A short planning discussion immediately follows:

"Ours will be improved."

"We'll add more colors to ours."

"More details will be added to ours."

Sahoby: See? Students will be as excited as you are now, and will try hard to improve what they do as much as you are doing now if they know that their work products will be publicly displayed for themselves to reflect on and be proud of, and for others to appreciate and learn from. Don't you think?

As is often the case, discussions continue on our way home. Ms. Manga seems to understand the rationale behind jigsaw group activities given her answers to Mr. Nasolo's questions. Ms. Raivo anticipates good student results, and has expressed her "concern for her daughter who will be going to the high school next school year if other teachers don't want to use jigsaw techniques in their classrooms."

A few days ago, Mr. Nasolo was waiting for Noro and me outside the elementary public school, very late in the evening. He informed me that "*We*, the high school teachers and administrative staff, have met and talked about this new approach. To *us*, it is in the United States that this approach can work, but *here*, in Ambohitsaraianana, it does *not*."

Before, he had mentioned that I am a "*vahiny*" and "the people of Ambohitsaraianana does not like *vahiny* -- foreigners." He'd also explained that "people will always see what one does, even if one crawls through underground water drains at midnight."

Late last night, Noro and I stayed up late to prepare materials, as is often the case. Deep silence was reigning outside. All of a sudden, a chorus echoed: *Ao ambony ny lapan'ny Ray, ao an-danitra feno ny soa* – Up there is Father's palace, in heaven full of good things. There is death in the community, again. "When somebody dies, deaths seem to form a chain of beads," Mr. Haja said. "They seem to follow each other, one after the other, for a while!"

The Public Conflict Portrayal

The outside noises tell me that the community has been up for a while. I drink coffee to help me wake up. My watch lets me know that I need to rush. Today we'll begin the second and last set of jigsaw activities at the high school. The elementary public school and the private school staff and teachers have training sessions, too. This is going to be a very long day, as is often the case. Teachers from Downwest Village have complained because I haven't been able to find a time for their training. Two teachers from a high school in Antananarivo also came last Saturday to ask when I could go there to for their training, as if we had agreed on it ahead of time. I wonder how they came to know that I'm conducting teacher training here in Ambohitsaraiaiana.

As Noro and I arrive at the high school, I sense strangeness: The offices are open but nobody is in! Mr. Haja isn't waiting on the veranda as usual. The classroom is open. No voice or footstep can be heard. Strange silence!

It's already 9:00. We're thirty minutes behind. I go onto the veranda to notice that there's somebody in the office. It's so strange that the participants have decided to "gather" in the teachers' room before the session.

As they walk in together, there isn't any lively talk as usual, just short greetings. It's so bizarre that nobody comes to explore the materials. I introduce the topic of the day to break the "heavy" silence reigning in the room.

Ms. Raivo [putting a notebook and a pen on the teacher's desk]: Ms. Manga isn't coming any longer, she said. She asked me to return her materials to you.

Sahoby: Oh! Can the reason of her withdrawal be known?

Ms. Raivo: She said she's busy.

Sahoby: So who is going to train students in English next week, and who's going to implement the teaching approach?

Mr. Rakoto: There's no reason for Ms. Manga to withdraw.

Mr. Nasolo [banging the table and looking back and forth at me and the others]: I swear to my sister: I have never worked as hard as I have for this study all my lifetime!

Ms. Raivo: There is no circumstance or reason to speak that strong!

Mr. Nasolo [banging the table again and bouncing on his seat]: I do dare swear to my sister that I have never worked this hard all my life.

I can't hear anything of what they are discussing within their "on-the-spot-family circle." Mr. Nasolo is "circulating," leaning forward to see the face of whoever speaks, like an angry "master" attempting to "warn his subjects against something."

Ms. Joro: Hey, Sahoby! Are the English lessons to be taught to students during the implementation ready, or does the individual who'll teach need to prepare them?

Sahoby: They're ready, and whoever teaches them will have to follow instructions. However, meetings will take place to clarify whatever needs to be clarified.

The "family discussion" resumes. I'd better stay where I am, not move even a millimeter. Mr. Nasolo's face is exhibiting increased anger. How long is this going to last?

Sahoby [wanting to offer a solution]: Well, I can have a teacher from Antananarivo teach, if that can be a solution.

Ms. Raivo [firmly]: No! No outsider!

Sahoby [insisting]: Well, but if there is no solution...

Ms. Raivo [angry]: There is no bit of a reason why Ms. Manga doesn't want to do it. She doesn't have to do anything but follow instructions. And the training is going to end soon.

Mr. Nasolo [his eyes popping out]: She has problems! She has her problems!

Sahoby: Each individual has his/her own problems.

The “family discussion” resumes again and lasts for a while. This is one of those situations where drawing the line between *vahiny* – foreigner, and *vahiny*– family, is almost impossible. I’d better let them resolve the problem among themselves.

Ms. Raivo [standing up, after a while]: I will do it! I will do it if nobody wants to do it!

Mr. Nasolo [asking me]: But the study wouldn’t be valid if she does it, would it? She is not an English teacher.

Ms. Raivo [hitting her left palm with her right fist]: I will do it! I have received language-teaching education. I can teach English. I have taught it before! [looking for something on the teacher’s desk] Give me the thing [passive imperative].

Sahoby: What do you need? [passive voice]

Ms. Raivo: An English book! I can do it. I just need to practice speaking. Don’t you worry even a bit! It will be done whatever happens! You’ll train the students and I will do the implementation in English. No problem whatsoever!

Mr. Nasolo looks at all of us, one by one, as if trying to find something to read on our faces. I don’t like this situation.

After the session, Mr. Nasolo follows Noro and me. We take the car street as we are going to the elementary school. He begins his talk, stating that he doesn’t “blame Manga for students’ bad performances in English. It’s not her fault. She is the only English teacher at the high school, so how can she do a good job in such a circumstance? I don’t blame her at all.”

As Noro and I enter the gate of the elementary school, I feel more comfort: Blooming red and yellow flowers, smiling human faces, and melodic voices greet us. What a great relief!

A Student Training Session Portrayal

Today is the first time students will have to do group presentations. I'm anxiously wondering how they will do. If they fail, I don't know what I'm going to do. We're running out of time. I had to change my planned topics and activities to enable them to perform their group roles and do their work. So far, I've noticed improvement, mainly in their speaking skills, considering their overwhelmingly low English knowledge and somehow frightened behaviors I observed during the first training session. I was very happy with their work on the "cooperative cat drawing" activity we did last Saturday, June 5: The "reader groups" made sure each member had the right pronunciation of each word by deciding to practice choral and individual reading before pair work; The "drawer groups" made sure each member understood the meaning and know the pronunciation of each word in their vocabulary list. Two pairs of students jumped in the air because the "drawers" could draw the cat. Others found their drawing so funny that some were laughing with tearful eyes. Everybody was excited and I liked that.

I spent sleepless nights looking for and working on suitable texts for today's presentations. Students' apparent interests and desire to learn were a tremendous source of energy for me.

Ms. Raivo, Mr. Nasolo, and Mr. Haja are present as usual. Ms. Zahatra has been ill for days now. Mr. Rakoto had to go to Antananarivo because of a death in his family. Mr. Zoto is teaching. Ms. Manga is back. Yesterday, she brought a book with pictures of drawings within the Nazca Lines and showed them to the students.

Every student group is finishing up their visual and written materials. They form a protective human fence around their working tables to hide their work from others. The room is filled with mumble. I walk toward Koto's group. He moves aside to allow me to see their work. All heads are turning up and faces are full of smile, as if to say, "we're doing a good job, aren't we?" Their poster's title reads, The Nazca Lines. They have drawings of a spider, a bird, and a triangle. I'm wondering how much effort they had to make to obtain their materials.

"Excuse me," a shy voice from behind me catches my attention.

"Yes," I answer as I turn around.

"Can I ave a pen red, please?" Soa asks, "swallowing" the "h" in "have" and transferring the Malagasy word order "noun + adjective" into her English.

"You want a red color pencil? Sure you can," I answer.

"Yes, red collar pencil. Thank you," she says as she gets the pencil, making another mistake.

"Excuse me," Fetra calls, his hand up.

"Yes," I respond walking toward his group.

"How is it pronounced?" he asks, pointing to the word "huge" in their text.

"Have you asked your friends?" I ask.

"Yes. They don't know also," he says, with a little mistake.

"Alright! It's 'hju:dʒ'" I answer.

"Huge," Fetra repeats while writing 'hiuj.'

"No, it's 'huge' like this," Rina corrects while writing 'hju:j.'

“It’s ‘huge,’” Naivo corrects while writing ‘hju:dʒ.’

“That’s right!” Vero happily confirms.

“Very good!” I say.

I really like seeing this “joy” sparkling in students’ eyes when they’ve discovered a “good” answer after “hard work.” It’s like I feel their feelings “running” all over my body, soul, and mind.

“I think everybody is done,” I say.

“No,” a few voices answer.

“Not yet?” I say.

“Not yet!” some follow.

“In five minutes, we begin the presentations, OK? Have everything ready,” I say.

An atmosphere of excitement fills the room. Last group collaboration recommendations are made. Movements become quicker. Voices become louder. Last touches on visual materials are made. Ms. Joyce and Ms. Solo are rushing into the room, smiling and nodding their heads to greet me. I greet them back in the same manner.

“Alright, let’s have our presentations,” I say. “Remember, each group will present its work to the class. Alright? Group members will make sure that everybody understands what they want to say. If there are questions, they have to answer. So, who would like to begin?”

There is no answer. Eyes look halfway down as to avoid eye contact with me. Nobody seems to make the slightest movement. The teachers are looking around as if to check students’ reactions. I don’t want to designate which group should go first. That

can frustrate or frighten them more. I decide to “reassure them” again, speaking in Malagasy. The English version is as follows:

“Alright! I understand that, because this is the first time you have to present your work to the whole class, you might feel a bit frightened, or embarrassed, or something. I understand that because this is something new to you. But I’d like you to remember something we’ve talked about more than once, that making a mistake is alright, I make mistakes, everybody makes mistakes. And sometimes, our answers are wrong. But that’s OK, too. We come to school to learn, we come to school because we want to know something. So, we are going to make mistakes because we’re coming here to learn about something we don’t know. And as we said, *nobody*, let me say that again, *nobody* may laugh at you if you make mistakes or give wrong answers, because that’s *our* rule. So, just go ahead and present your work. You’ve done a good job so far. I’m sure you can do a good job with your presentations. If something needs to be changed or improved, we’ll do it as usual. OK? So, who’d like to go first?”

A lot of body language is taking place: Elbowing, nodding, and lip signaling. Tsiry and his four teammates are standing together. I lead the applause while saying, “Thank you!” The whole class joins me.

“I am the ‘Starter and Mover’ in our group. Vero is our ‘Summarizer’; Bema is our ‘Recorder’; Solofo is our ‘Encourager’; and Faly is our ‘Checker of Understanding.’ Now, we are going to present our work. The text is about the Nazca Lines. The Nazca Lines are huge pictures.”

“We cannot hear! Please speak up!” a student interrupts.

Tsiry looks up, smiles, and continues:

“The Nazca Lines are huge pictures. They are in Peru, in Atacama Desert.”

“Do you understand?” Faly checks for understanding.

“No, we don’t endairstend,” some students answer with a faulty pronunciation.

Tsiry is putting his pen in his mouth while reading his notes. Bema, Vero, Solofo, and Faly are looking at each other. Vero takes a piece of chalk and goes to the right side of the board.

“This is Peru,” she says, pointing to a closed line she’s drawn. “No,” she erases her drawing. “This is America, not the United States but in the South America. Peru is here, in the South America,” she explains her drawings.

“And in Peru, there is the desert mmmm, the desert...,” she looks at her friends for help.

“‘Atacama Desert’,” Bema says after checking his records.

“Yes, ‘Atacama Desert’,” Vero continues. “In the Atacama Desert, there are the Nazca Lines. The Nazca Lines are very big pictures, very big drawings,” she looks at the audience.

“Do you understand?” Faly checks for understanding.

“Yeeees,” some students answers, other nod their heads.

“Now, Solofo will continue,” Tsiry says to help the group ‘move.’

“They cover many kilometers. There are pictures of birds, spiders, triangles, rectangles, etcetera,” Solofo continues while Bema points to the drawings corresponding to what he mentions.

“Do you undairastend?” Faly checks for understanding.

“Yes,” students answer.

“Now, Vero will continue,” Tsiry says to help the group ‘move.’

“The Nazca Lines were discovered in the 1930s by airplane pilots. But they were made a long time ago, more than three thousand years ago,” Vero concludes.

“Do you have questions?” Faly asks.

“Thank you for the good job!” I say, as there is no question, leading a round of applause for the group for their work. I know the students were doing everything they could to explain their materials to the audience.

As we are ending the presentation sessions, everybody looks tired. However, after the successive presentation evaluation discussions since this morning and the extra times given for the groups to rework on the way they would present their work, this afternoon’s presentations were a lot better. Now, it’s the last group’s turn.

Bozy and Tafita stand up to represent their group. Two of their group mates have taped two posters on the board. One, entitled “Nazca Lines: Why?,” displays drawings of a gift box, Jupiter, and a thick one-headed arrow. The second poster’s title is, “Street Signs.”

“Our work is about the reasons why the Nazca Lines were built,” Bozy starts, “that is why our title is “Nazca Lines: Why?” Some people think that they were built for gods. That is, something to give gods, like we give gifts to people when it’s a new year. Other people think that the Nazca Lines were signs to give direction. For example, this is a stop sign. When you see it in the street, you stop. So the Nazca Lines were like signs to show directions to those who were from other planets like Jupiter. So when they see this sign, they go here. OK?” Bozy explains their drawings.

“So, we don’t know why they were built,” Tafita continues. “And we don’t know the methods to build them. We don’t know the answer. But they built a very long time ago, like two thousand or three thousand years. So they are mystery. That’s our presentation. Thank you for your attention. Do you have a question?”

“No, it’s clear,” some students answer.

A round of applause fills the room. I grab my notes and walk to the front. In my excitement, I stretch my arms along the board and bury my head in between them. I turn toward the class, everybody looks at me, with a questioning face expression. “Yea-a-ah!” I shout with a big smile and my arms up in the air. “Excellent job! You did an excellent job! Thank you everybody! Thank you!” The students applaud again in response. “We are done for today. Again, thank you everybody. I’ll see you tomorrow!”

As the students are leaving, Ms. Raivo and Ms. Manga are joining me at the teacher desk. I hurriedly put my things back into my bag and say, "Let's tell Joro about the good news before we leave. I'm very happy with the students' work."

I rush out of the room and go straight to Mr. Joro's office. He's working at his desk. Ms. Lala is looking through a bunch of paper. Mr. Nasolo is standing next to the wall facing Mr. Joro's desk. I didn't see him leave the classroom!

"It was very good! It worked very well! The kids did very well! I didn't expect them to do that well!" I say, thrilled.

"It's good if it went well," Mr. Joro answers, continuing writing on a sheet of paper.

I hug Ms. Lala, then, Mr. Nasolo. I walk toward the door to hug Ms. Manga: She is looking down with her hand on her cheek. She looks very sad! I turn my head to look at the others: There is no sign of joy on their faces either! Surprised and embarrassed, I excuse myself for having to leave because of a meeting that Ms. Raivo, Ms. Manga, and I still have this evening. I go out. Ms. Raivo and Noro are waiting up the small path. Other teachers have sneaked away. "Something is going on. What are those death-related behaviors?" I wonder.

"What's the matter? Something wrong?" I almost whisper to Ms. Manga, leaning forward to look at her face, which is buried in her hair. "Something wrong? Is there some problem?" I repeat.

"I ask Sahoby to forgive me. I was wrong!" she answers with such a small voice that I can hardly hear her.

“But what’s the problem? Why are you asking me to forgive you?” I ask, still searching her face.

“I ask you to forgive me. I was wrong,” she repeats.

“There’s nothing you need to ask for forgiveness,” I answer, more surprised than ever...

I am certainly missing something!

An Implementation Session Portrayal

“Today, we will have presentations. You have fifteen minutes to finish up your work. So, go to your jigsaw groups and begin your work,” Ms. Manga begins the session.

Ms. Manga seems to be doing well so far. She circulates around the classroom and seems to help students. I wonder what language she uses, how she addresses and helps groups. Our during-break and after-session meetings seemed to indicate that she has understood what is expected from her.

Students seem to collaborate well, too. Some would work on their visual materials, others on their written notes. Everybody appears busy.

“There are students who asked about how ‘*fihavanana*’ can be translated into English,” Ms. Manga asks me in Malagasy, leaning on my table.

“It’s what we talked about. Some would translate it into ‘kinship,’ others would keep the Malagasy word,” I answer.

“So it doesn’t matter whichever word they keep use, then,” she asks.

“I don’t think it matters, as long as they understand it,” I reply.

It is true that words like “*fihavanana*” are difficult to translate into other languages. They tend to carry culture-specific connotations.

“Alright! Time is up! Let’s begin the presentations. Who would go first?” Ms. Manga asks.

She looks around to see if there is any volunteer. Nobody moves.

“Let’s have a group designated if nobody wants to volunteer! It is just a waste of time! Nobody is going to wait here for ever!” she says in Malagasy, furious.

Felana and Tahiry stand up after body language signals. I am glad that they decided to volunteer.

“Always Felana! Always Felana! How about the others?” Ms. Manga says as she goes to take a seat at the third bench-table in the west row, more furious.

The visual material of Felana’s group is divided in two columns and three rows. There are drawings of miniature people, clocks of various shapes, houses, among others.

“We are the group “Finiavana,” Tahiry begins. Our presentation is about ‘differences between Malagasy cultural values and American cultural values.’

For Malagasy, for example, Bema and Lita and Soa go to school in the morning. And on their way to school, they see that Mr. Rabe’s oranges and apples roll in the street. Mr. Rabe is the merchant of fruit. They help Mr. Rabe and put the fruit in his baskets because the ‘*fihavanana*’ is the most important. When they arrive at school, they are late.”

Mr. Nasolo is interrupting, clinging at the edge of his bench:

“Ary toa mba miseho miteny tsy mamaky ilay montany ireto? An? Toa mba miseho mahay miteny anglisy?”

(i.e., “And those guys are showing off by speaking without reading? Hein?

Showing off that they know how to speak English [something that one does not expect]?)

He looks at Tahiry, then, turns his head toward me at the back of the room. I smile at him but he is not smiling back. Tahiry is blushing and having his pen between his front teeth. Ms. Manga is looking down. What I can see is her hair. Two or so students hesitantly begin clapping their hands. Others are quick to join in. In a blink of an eye, loud and thick applause is filling the room, like a drum and tambour choir. Tahiry smiles and nods at Felana.

“That is for Malagasy. But for Americans, it is different,” Felana takes over. “For example, Michael goes to work in the morning. On his way to the office, he meets Jack, but he does not stop to talk because time is money. So, he continues walking and he isn’t late. OK? So, to recap, For Malagasy, the *fihavanana* is the most important. For Americans, time is the most important and it is like money. That’s our presentation. Thank you for your attention. Do you have questions?”

The class applauds the group. I join in. I look around, smiling. Everybody looks excited. I can see heads looking through the half-open classroom-communicating door. “These are twelfth-graders,” Mena whispers to me as she probably notices my surprised look. I wonder how long they have been watching and listening there.

It's break time. Ms. Manga, Ms. Raivo, and I are going to have our usual "talk" on the grass. I will thank Ms. Manga for her good job.

Cases Portrayals

Ms. Raivo

If every participating teacher were like Ms. Raivo, the Ambohitsaraianana High School would have been an innovation site favorite for every innovation agent. She is a language teacher currently teaching the Malagasy language. She has gained a great amount of knowledge about field education as she has progressed through the educational ladder from the elementary to middle and high school levels during her twenty-nine-years experience as a language teacher.

Even though Ms. Raivo was mostly interested in a "medical doctor" or "midwife" career after her high school graduation in Ambohitsaraianana, her family low income made her "consider" pursuing her studies through "government-sponsored" vocational institutions such as the Elementary College of Education in Antananarivo. After a few years of elementary teaching, she attended the Middle School College of Education. She then went to the University of Madagascar in the late 70's to obtain her three-year "license in the Malagasy Language and Literature."

The thing that struck my attention with Ms. Raivo when I first saw her line up at the university bus terminal was her typical Malagasy traditional *lamba* – this famous Malagasy piece of cloth worn around the shoulders – and hairstyle made of two braids interwoven and bunched over her nape, just like my mother's. Her ivory straw hat has added more charm to her Malagasy look.

Ms. Raivo's willingness to "fill in" language teaching positions is currently reflected in her teaching the Malagasy language across the middle and high school levels. She seems to know more than others where school help is needed, probably via the Regional Department of Education Head, her very own brother. Despite her restless role as a mother, she has extended this involvement in community life outside the school sphere: She is an active member of a church and has participated in diaconal initiation sessions. She was also on the "second list" of her political party during the last senator election.

Ms. Raivo's pride in her pre-study teaching knowledge and practices is echoed in her preaching-like long explanations during her first interview:

"With the single-kernel unit (probably, thematic unit), for example, it is the same text that is used by you as a source instrument, and everything (i.e., grammar, arts, and customs) is explored by you within it." "You always find ways to interest students when you teach! Mine is like that, to tell the truth. Even though it (i.e., the text) is used over and over [you find a way to make it interesting to your students]." "Currently, with the curricular pedagogy, you don't teach via those lesson-giving (techniques) any longer. You base what you want to get on kids' characters, behaviors, and participation. Questions are asked by you and it's the kids who must search for and give answers whatever the circumstance is...even if they [i.e., the questions] have to be modified ten times." "You make efforts to find questions that fit in what is being required by you. There is nothing that reflects you in it (i.e., the curricular pedagogy). Is it understood by you? That's what we learnt from the last in-service teacher development workshop (at the middle school). It is a program or pedagogy centered on students."

Ms. Raivo also noted that she was "happy" with her teaching practices as measured by the combination of students' exam performances and her "ability to do what could be done [within what is under her control]." However, she contended that she was not "totally satisfied as total satisfaction does not exist and will never exist."

When Ms. Raivo discussed the nature of the in-service staff development workshops that she had participated in, she refuted their real value as “sometimes it’s things already known by you that are repeated and reinforced.” The “single-kernel unit” lacks practical value as “it is difficult to apply in classrooms” because of “lack of materials such as texts” and because “students don’t care” about lessons “any longer” after being “repeatedly” exposed to the same written materials.

Ms. Raivo related group work to two main issues: Its use is subject-matter and class-size bound, given sufficient time. She emphasized that “group work is not needed by you in Malagasy (classes)” given that “students always understand what you say” in Malagasy. It is needed “if you are (dealing) with other subject areas such as English and French languages” which “aren’t known by the kids.” She also suggested that “it’s good if you have few students” to use group work activities, not if there are many students. She did not have any prior knowledge about “cooperative learning” and asked, “*Where* does that exist?” without any further related information inquiry.

Ms. Raivo did not view “the program load” as a challenge. In contrast, she strongly disapproved of “the way” education change is “handled by individuals in the government.” As she explained her frustration,

“The program is always changing depending on who the ruler is: a (new) ruler arrives *there* (at this visible and close place), then the program changes again. And the thing (i.e., teaching) follows it. Then there is a (new) ruler over *there* (someone visible), and say, it’s ‘democracy’ (this time). School changes have always been that way. They [the rulers] deal with them depending on what they like, without even considering how teachers feel, how students feel about *these/this* (current but vague) continuous (and) endless change(s).”

She added that teachers in Ambohitsaraianana were “whining . . . because . . . there is nothing stable.” Whoever “feels like” initiating change would do so “in a glimpse of an eye.” This, she emphasized, “is unfair.” She said, “we, teachers” had fought saying “you at the top [positions] over there [an invisible but close place], just agree among yourselves.”

Ms. Raivo appeared to abide by the general social norm of welcoming *vahiny* via invitations to “having meals” at her home, saving meals for me and Noro, going home or to the market together, among others. She also accepted to serve as an observer during the field study and take notes in her diary for that purpose.

Ms. Raivo’s spontaneity and ease to speak her mind manifested themselves during the entire field study as they did during her first interview. During the first teacher training session, for example, she admitted not taking *multiple intelligences* into account in her teaching. Likewise, her diary contains diverse reflections related to her “surprises,” “interests to find out what’s next,” specific observations, feelings, and thoughts concerning specific situations.

Ms. Raivo exhibited changing behaviors as the study progressed. She wanted to “try out” the jigsaw technique for the teaching of the Malagasy language “at all cost” while I was still in Ambohitsaraianana. And she did, at the expense of the “wrapping up” activity for the implementation in the English language. Her final thoughts and feelings about her teaching approaches and the cooperative learning practice that she expressed during her third interview epitomize her change: Her approaches have become “*kabary tsy valiana*” (or “grand formal speech not meant to be responded to”): “In

general, what is done is like this: Concerning the questions that are asked to kids, the truth is that it is what I want to attain that I have them focus on. . . . When I get it, I don't look for anything else. . . . It's enough for me." To her, "those old practices" were "grand formal speeches not meant to be responded to/participate in." The cooperative learning technique is "truly student-centered": "Here, teaching really originates from kids. It is really what's inside the kids that's being exteriorized by them, not what's in *my mind* any longer... That is, it is truly rooted in kids." She further expressed her serious consideration of using the latter and thought of "working on materials to be used" during the next academic year so that she could be ready to utilize the new practice.

I believe that Ms. Raivo will continue to use the jigsaw technique. With adequate support, she can improve it to fit her teaching situations, become its "leading advocate," and a "resource person" in the region of Ambohitsaraianana.

Mr. Nasolo

Mr. Nasolo is an outspoken man. He is one of the two French teachers at the Ambohitsaraianana High School. He thinks high school teaching is too low for his law degree, although the exact nature of his degree is unknown.

Mr. Nasolo is a descendant of clan *Tompontany* – Owner-Of-The-Land, like the Mayor of the Ambohitsaraianana, a family member of his. He is the local president of a French-Malagasy organization. He is also a member of a political party, and was a candidate at the last Senator election. He has claimed the positions of Head of the Regional Department and high school principal for him.

I first met Mr. Nasolo on April 30, 1999, the day of my study official opening. It is said that, when teaching, he would sometimes spend a three-hour period talking about his outstanding prosperous life.

Mr. Nasolo began confronting me the first day I had a meeting with the high school staff and faculty, that is, on May 3, 1999. The following are examples of what he said that day. I will put close to verbatim translations between parentheses.

Mba misy lamina ve izy ity sa dia mandeha anjambany fotsiny e?

("Does it [the study] have any planning or is it just going to be done in an haphazard manner?")

Izaho mila "polycopés" alohan'ny fihaonana tsirairay! Mba ho omenao zavatra ho vakina ve izahay sa dia hijanona amin'izao fotsiny? Izaho efa zatra mahazo zavatra an-tsoratra ho vakiko mialohan'ny fotoana!

("Me, I need hand-outs before each session! Are we going to be given materials to read by you or shall we stay like this [without anything]? Me, I'm used to having something written to read ahead of time.")

The same day, while I was walking out of the room, Mr. Nasolo rushed and stood facing me at the threshold and said:

Tsy mahalala n'inona na inona amin'ny zava-misy aty Ambohitsaraiaianana ianao.

("You don't know anything about realities over here in Ambohitsaraiaianana.")

Vahiny ianao aty. Ny olona aty tsy tia vahiny.

("You are a stranger/foreigner over here. People over here don't like strangers/foreigners.")

Already that day, I knew I had to be extra careful and avoid making mistakes.

However, I was readying myself to abandon the study any time and start over at the other

sites whose senators and/or school staff and faculty had expressed their desire to conduct it in their regions, should there be lack of support from other participants or the community, or both.

The first seemed to focus on details or elements or both about which he could argue. Although I don't think there is anything bad about this, I found the way he said things sarcastic. A portion of discussion during the evaluation period of the "cooperative puzzle," the first activity we had, for example, went like the following:

Mr. Nasolo: *Tsy mazava ny torolalana ka aiza no hahavitana an'ireny?*

("The instructions are not clear so in what circumstance can these be done?")

Sahoby: *Aiza ho aiza amin'ny torolalana no tsy mazava?*

("Where in the instructions isn't clear?")

Mr. Nasolo: *Tsy haiko ny sarin'i Madagasikara ka tsy vitako ireny?*

("The picture of Madagascar isn't known by me, so how can these be done by me?")

Sahoby: *Tsy hainao ve ny sarin'i Madagasikara?*

("Isn't the picture of Madagascar known by you?")

Mr. Nasolo: *Tsy tadidiko. Ny ahy ny sarin'i Madagasikara misy antsipirihany no haiko fa tsy haiko ny sary tsorina ohatr'itony.*

("No! What I know is a Madagascar map with details, rather than simplified maps like those.")

Sahoby: *Hay! Tsy tonga tao an-tsaiko hoe mety tsy tadidinareo ny sarin'i Madagasikara tamin'izaho nanomana an'iny. Ka ho raisiko izay: Indraindray dia tsy izay*

eritreretintsika mpampianatra fa fantatry ny mpianatra dia marina daholo, ohatran'i Nasolo tsy mahatadidy ny sarin'i Madagasikara rehefa tsy aseho amin'ny antsipirihany. Fa iny sarin'i Madagasikara iny izao no tanjona tamin'iny lahasa iny. Fantatrareo ny zavatra takiana tamin'iny nefa mbola tsy vitanareo ny namerina ny sarin'i Madagasikara. Ka rehefa mampianatra isika, ampahafantarintsika ny mpianatra ve ny tanjona tiansika ho trarariny?

(“Oh! OK! It didn’t come to my mind that the picture of Madagascar wouldn’t be remembered by you while I was preparing this activity. I’ll take that: Sometimes, it can be that what is thought by teachers as known by students is false. And it was this picture of Madagascar that was the objective of this activity. What was asked [from you] was known by you, yet, reconstructing the picture wasn’t completed by you. So when we teach, is the goal to be achieved made known by us to students?”)

Mr. Nasolo: *Kilalao tsy misy fotony tahaka itony ve no ho omena ny mpianatra hisy dikany?*

(“If it’s junk games like this that is to be given to students, is there any worth?”)

Sahoby: *Araky ny fahalalako azy dia kilalao no anisan'ny anombohan'ny olon-drehetra mianatra voalohany.*

(“To my knowledge, it’s games that are among the first tools used by everybody to learn.”)

A statement on the same day in his diary reads:

Potipoti-taratasy atambatra mba hanome ny sarin'i Madagasikara.

(“Crappy pieces of paper to be put together to give a picture of Madagascar.”)

I observed that, more often than not, Mr. Nasolo raised unrelated concerns, at least to my vantage point. On May 8, 1999, the second teacher training session, for example, he asked the reasons of my reluctance to mix languages when speaking. Although this could be a legitimate concern, I didn’t think the Malagasy government had

anything to do with this decision of mine, as he seemed to suggest. More disturbing to me was his somehow “distorting” what I said. For example, he repeatedly said that I did not want to speak French, as if “not mixing languages” meant “not speaking French.” And this, despite participants’ unanimous decision to use the Malagasy language as the medium of communication when they were given to choose between it, French, and English, and despite my repeated explanations. His diary records on the same day consists of an essay of more than one and a half pages in which he expresses the good foundation of not mixing the Malagasy language with other languages. He then elaborates on the need to search for foreign words translations into Malagasy because

we were taught in a foreign language(s), we went to school abroad and got education in a foreign language(s)... The vocabulary items used by us must be shared by all Malagasy who want to speak, and express opinions, or explain something. Otherwise, we will not understand each other over here. So we should begin with this as soon as possible, mainly the researchers under the leadership of the Malagasy Academy.

He then continues with the Malagasy government’s responsibility to disseminate the new vocabulary items and questions whether it would do this responsibility or excuse itself for budget constraints. He concludes his essay with a paragraph stating his wish of not finding himself and his descendants in a situation where countries “which are powerful with their languages, customs, and cultures” are “the owners of this land.” Mr. Nasolo goes on with his language concern by listing fifty-two French words needing Malagasy translation, and six Malagasy words needing translations in French or English to him.

Mr. Nasolo is a controversial figure, to me. Until May 22, 1999, the day of the Public Conflict between participants, he had privately reported to me his so-stated

“unanimous” opinions of school staff and faculty during their meetings, such as my ability to obtain materials from the Resource Department at the American Cultural Center because of my being “a child of Americans” and the impossibility to use the jigsaw technique in the region. Likewise, he talked about “unanimous” opinions about people somehow related to my study.

After the teacher training session of the participants’ conflict, Mr. Nasolo followed me up to near the elementary school to talk “nonstop” about everything he could possibly talk about: students’ inability to function within jigsaw; students’ lack of knowledge; students’ lack of learning motivation; students’ disinterest in school; students’ laziness; impossibility to obtain positive results “even if you’re walking on your head, you’ll only be worn out”; X’s and Y’s faults for students’ poor performances; and Ms. Manga’s justified reason to withdraw from the study. That time, I couldn’t wait until I arrived inside the elementary school ground as I was considering solutions to Ms. Manga’s withdrawal and needed time to concentrate on the elementary teacher training activities at the same time.

During the implementation of the cooperative consciousness-raising with students, Mr. Nasolo showed signs of his realization that students had made observable improvement. After a gap of a month, his diary record on June 11, 1999 is an explanation of why the cooperative consciousness-raising is “able to yield good products:”

students [are] divided into groups; The teaching is founded on cultural values and contexts; Students have to search, think, reflect using their own strengths, exchange ideas, explore, and thoroughly examine; to draw conclusions, summarize, synthesize. The vocabulary items being

exploited fit the contexts very well and can be well anchored in students' memory. The knowledge being explored by them will be well ingrained in their mind, their intelligence will grow well.

However, he began reporting again his so-stated school staff and faculty's

"unanimous" opinions. Examples of related exchanges went like the following:

Mr. Nasolo: *Nivory izahay dia nilaza hoe "Mahavita an'ireny nataony ireny i Sahoby satria izy manana 'crayons de couleurs'. Aiza no ananan'ny aty 'crayons de couleurs'? Ny olona aty mahantra!"*

("We met and said 'Sahoby is able to do the things she did because she [emphatic] has color pencils. How can people over here have color pencils? People over here are poor!")

Sahoby: *Tsy azoko izany. Niaraha-nahita teo fa na dia nitondra ny penisily milokoko aza aho dia nisy ankizy mampiasa ny azy. Ary tsy voatery hampiasa penisily miloko koa anie izay mampiasa an'iny fomba fampianarana iny. Tsy niresaka mihitsy isika hoe anisan'ny fepetra ahafahana mampiasa an'iny ny fampiasana penisily miloko.*

("That's not understood by me. It was seen by us together that even though I've been bringing my color pencils [to class], there were kids that used theirs. And those who use this teaching method don't have to use color pencils. We haven't said that utilization of pencil colors is a requirement for its use [jigsaw].")

After hearing such types of answers, Mr. Nasolo would "giggle" or half-smile, and repeatedly side-glance me.

During my stay in Ambohitsaraiaiana, I met Mr. Nasolo almost everywhere and every time. When I went home, he would be rushing out from somebody's house to join me, emerging from the thick darkness of late evenings on his unlit bicycle, or talking to some people on my way. After training sessions at the elementary or private schools, he would wait in the yard or street, or emerge from behind the training room. When I was waiting for a country bus at the station, he would arrive there. When I was at the market,

he would be there somewhere. When I was at somebody's house that he knew, he would join us. During these meetings, Mr. Nasolo and I discussed various topics from the history of his ancestors' ruling the region and his clan members' "God-granted gift" to training topics. While I understand that participants may need to discuss about certain concerns or problems in private, and I did mention my close to twenty-four hour availability, so to speak, what struck me with Mr. Nasolo was his unpredictability in change of tone, of topics, and of behaviors. Our meeting occurring between the end of the implementation and June 28, 1999 went like the following:

Mr. Nasolo: *Hay ve izany no atao hoe "curriculum" e! Ny Amerikana ve mampiasa an'iny fomba fampianarana iny?*

([after taking notes] "Oh, so that what is called 'curriculum' hein! It's being kind of understood by me. And do Americans use this teaching approach?")

Sahoby: *Misy mampiasa ihany ry zareo fa vitsy raha ny volazan'ny fikarohana no jerena.*

("There are some who use it, but they are few according to what is said in research.")

Mr. Nasolo [*mihahenjana ny feony*]: *Ary inona no eritreritr'ialahy amin'ny fanaparitahana an'iny?*

([his voice becoming harsh] "And what's your thought about its dissemination?")

Sahoby: *Tsy mbola nieritreritra an'izany aho. Fa nataoko fotsiny aloha ny andrana ahitana na manao ahoana ny vokatra, dia any aoriana aho mieritreritra an'izany. Asa? Mety hoe i Nasolo mitarika fampiofanana mpampianatra atsy Ambanitsena, dia Raivo any Ambonirano, ohatra, na sahala amin'izany.*

("I haven't thought about that yet. I just experimented with it to find out about what it'd produce. Later, I'll think about that. Well! Maybe Nasolo will lead a staff development workshop in Ambanitsena, and Raivo will do the same in Ambonirano, or the like, for example.")

Mr. Nasolo: *Ary ahoana raha ampiasain'ny antoko politika iny?*

(“And how if it’s used by political parties?”)

Sahoby: *Tsy mampaninona ahy mihitsy. Izay te-hampiasa an'iny dia afaka mampiasa na iza na iza, rehefa heveriny fa mahatsara zavatra. Tsy manana olana amin'izany mihitsy aho fa rehefa mahatsara ny ankizy dia izay no zava-dehibe amiko.*

(“It doesn’t matter to me. Whoever wants to use is can do so, whoever they are, if they think it can improve things. I don’t have any problem with that at all as long as it’s good for the kids, that’s the most important thing to me.”)

Mr. Nasolo [*mikapoka latabatra*]: *Izaho sy ny fikambananay dia manohana ary mampiroboro ny ‘francophonie.’ Tiako tsara ho fantatra izany. Koa maninona ialahy raha mba mitsotra fa hoe manohana sy mampiroborobo ny ‘americanisme’ satria izaho mitsotra fa manohana sy mampiroborobo ny ‘francophonie?’ An?*

([banging the palm of his hand on the table] “Our organization and I do support and promote francophony. I’d like that to be well known. So, why don’t you act as straightforwardly and say that you support and promote Americanism because me, I am acting straightforwardly and saying that I support and promote francophony? Hein?”)

Sahoby [*rehefa avy nitsamboatra, tezitra be*]: *Azafady! Aza heverina fa manao ohatr'anareo daholo ny olon-drehetra. Aza heverina fa satria ianareo manohana sy mampiroborobo ny ‘francophonie’ dia manohana zavatra hafa koa ny olona. Rehefa manohana ny ‘francophonie’ ianareo dia anareo izany, fa aza terena aho hilaza fa manohana sy mampiroborobo ny ‘americanisme’ satria tsy ataoko izany. Ary inona moa ity ‘americanisme’ lazainao e?*

([after startling, very furious]: “Excuse me! Don’t think [passive] that all people are acting as you are. Don’t think [passive] that, because you support and promote francophony, then, others also support and promote something. If you support and promote francophony, that’s your business, but don’t force [passive] me to say that I support and promote Americanism because that’s not done by me. And anyway, what is that ‘Americanism’ you’re talking about?”)

That was the first and last time I responded back to Mr. Nasolo's confrontations. During this last part, Mr. Nasolo and I were looking into each other's faces. I could not stand his accusation any longer. He was looking around after my question and did not give any answer. My hosts looked embarrassed and helpless. Mr. Nasolo left after a while without any sign of willingness to go further with our discussion.

Later, I did not meet him as often as we had before. We would have talks rather than real discussions as I was reluctant to engage into some of the topics he introduced. During that time, I was informed that some people "said they are wondering why your stay in Ambohitsaraiaiana is so long, because 'when we have meetings with French people, they would last only a week.'" A day or two before I was going to leave Ambohitsaraiaiana, Mr. Nasolo emerged from a house on my way home and yelled "why aren't your American 4X4s brought over here now that everything is done so that they can be seen by the people?" Unwilling to go into unnecessary debates, I just answered that I did not have 4X4s and excused myself for being in a hurry.

I believe that Mr. Nasolo has understood many of the characteristics of the jigsaw technique. However, he would need to work his personal social concerns before he would have the courage to use it.

Ms. Manga

Ms. Manga is the English teacher at the Ambohitsaraiaiana High School. She has taught English for thirteen years. She belongs to a clan of a *Zanatany*—Children-Of-The-Land. Her last child is one year old.

I first met Ms. Manga at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* in Antananarivo some fifteen years ago. We were both in the Department of English working toward the *Certificat d'Aptitude Pédagogique de l'Ecole Normale degree*. I have not seen her since my graduation in 1985.

At the beginning of my study, Ms. Manga seemed close to me. We shared a lot of stories about our peers, professors, and college. She also shared problems she encountered in her teaching although she appeared reluctant to talk about her teaching approach.

During her first interview on May 4, 1999, she admitted “I’m kind of dissatisfied: There’s something that I can’t get to students at all.” She also mentioned that, considering what she had learnt at the college of education, she should not be teaching the way she was, “I explain two-third of the lesson, and the explanation must be in Malagasy because they [students] don’t understand [English].” This was so because “I faced huge problems when I arrived here.” Most of her students had not had English before they came to the high school. She decided to lecture because her attempts to get students involved in answer discovery “didn’t work at all, so I found it just a waste of time.” The type of group work that Ms. Manga used was “mainly what is called ‘pair-work.’ But sometimes, there are too many kids and it’s almost unfeasible to tell them to go two by two.” Another concern that she had with pair-work was “it is unknown by me whether or not they are really doing [the activity] because they’d talk simultaneously.” Additionally, “if I am at the west side over there, it’s unknown whether or not those at the east side are doing [the activity]. But when I get there, what they’re doing is heard very

well by me.” She stated that her pair-work activities were either written or oral and included dialogues read by students, and interviews for lesson applications. She used school library books as resources.

Ms. Manga also mentioned time constraint as a factor negatively affecting the quality of her teaching and students’ performances in English. She did not have any helper at home so she found that “lesson preparation at home is too much.” She decreased her weekly teaching hours to twelve because of nursing and “because of the baby, I can’t teach more than three hours” in a row a day. She would like to get help and it “is the Ministry [of Education] that should examine this help very closely” for the school to have another English teacher.

Despite her teaching problems, Ms. Manga likes teaching because “even when I encounter problems of whatever magnitude when leaving home, my state of mind is really different and would dramatically change when I am in class.” Being with students would make her forget about “whatever is outside” the classroom.

Ms. Manga had never heard about or used cooperative learning. She seemed interested in it. During after training session discussions with Ms. Raivo and Mr. Nasolo on our way home, she would rectify the latter’s misperceptions, “if these (activities) are given to kids, it’s like they would work together in finding the answers. They would discuss there and what is unknown by a student would be known by another. It’s like they teach each other.”

Later, Ms. Manga decided to withdraw from the study, to my big surprise. I decide to discuss the problem with her when I unexpectedly saw her in the office a few days after her withdrawal. Our discussion proceeded as follows:

Sahoby: It seems that you're very busy. That's why you can't participate in the study any longer. Is there something that could be done to help?

Ms. Manga: That's right, I'm very busy right now: I still have to prepare the English school exams, for example.

Ms. Lala: Aren't they already in? It's we that will type and print them. And that's it.

Ms. Manga: But then, I'll still have to grade them and have the grades in soon.

Ms. Lala: Yes, but you can have the grades in when you're finished scoring. We can work on the deadlines if needed.

Sahoby: I can help you with scoring, too, if you want.

Ms. Manga [getting angry]: Then, I'll have to report the grades on the transcript sheets. I don't have any time for anything else, at all!

Ms. Lala: Your grades can be given to us and we'll report them. In that case, you'll just have to check them and sign the transcripts.

Sahoby: I can help with that, too.

Ms. Manga [very angry]: Why isn't somebody that is eager and willing to conduct it [the implementation] asked to do so, somebody like Raivo, for example?

Sahoby: You are the English teacher at this school. So, it'll be best if you can implement it.

Ms. Manga: You'll be stunned if I ask for a medical consultation form because of falling ill from my implementing this approach!

Ms. Lala: We can talk to the principal and arrange things so that you won't have to work harder than necessary.

Sahoby [not understanding but unwilling to further insist]: It's OK! I don't want anybody to fall ill because of the study.

Later, I was informed about Ms. Manga's thought, "the real problem isn't understood by Sahoby at all." She came back on June 7, 1999. She seemed cooperating since then.

On July 9, 1999, Ms. Manga decided to knit her baby pullover over my old battery-operated tape recorder. She evaluated the cooperative consciousness-raising as "able to give good student outcomes." She said, "I was surprised that students that usually don't speak unexpectedly did speak." She conveyed her willingness to "make efforts to use it," but "possible problems would be time and students' inability to speak English" and their "different levels: Some know English, others don't." While walking me out, she stated "I'm scared to death," followed by "I have a deal with the Senator," after a prompt.

I believe that Ms. Manga would use the jigsaw technique in her teaching. She would need to learn teaching behaviors consistent with its foundations, one at a time each semester, to obtain good student results.

CHAPTER V

STUDY ONE RESULTS

The language pedagogy literature stresses the importance of the quality of second/foreign language teaching/learning in learners' acquisition or development of communicative competence or both. A practical goal of Study One in this research was to investigate the (in)effectiveness of cooperative consciousness-raising for the teaching of the speech act of request as compared to a traditional method of instruction. A second goal was to examine the English teacher's and learners' attitudes toward the two approaches.

This chapter presents data from two kinds of instruments. The first section presents quantitative and qualitative data results obtained from the English Achievement Test administered to learners in the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional groups to answer the first three research questions in Study One. This is followed by results on the English Achievement Test reliability computations. The second section provides quantitative and qualitative data obtained from the Student Questionnaire and Teacher Questionnaire Student and Learning section to assess students' attitudes toward the two approaches, and from the Teacher Questionnaire Teacher and Teaching to assess the English teacher's attitudes toward the two teaching approaches.

English Achievement Test Data

There were three research questions connected to the (in)effectiveness of the two teaching methods under investigation concerning students' abilities:

1. How do students' abilities to identify differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors differ as a function of instructional method?
2. How do students' abilities to relate differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities differ as a function of instructional method?
3. How do students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American requestive behaviors in different contexts differ as a function of instructional method?

Quantitative data analysis results for each research question are presented in this section, followed by qualitative data obtained from responses of informants.

Quantitative Data

Statistical analyses were conducted to generate descriptive and inferential results for each research question. The results are displayed in Table 3.

Abilities to Identify Linguistic Differences Between Malagasy and American Requestive Behaviors (Linguistic Difference Identification Abilities)

Students' abilities to identify linguistic differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors (henceforth, linguistic difference identification abilities) were measured by their abilities to identify and describe two differences in the linguistic devices used in Malagasy and American English as reflected in requests provided to them in the Identification section, and provided by them in the Production section. Linguistic differences concerned the head act orientation and the type of supportive move used.

The results show that the mean scores of the experimental and control groups (Ms = 5.68 vs. .23, and SDs = 1.68 vs. .47, respectively, $p < .00$) were significantly different

on students' linguistic difference identification abilities. The median scores were 5.25 and .00 for the experimental and control groups, respectively.

Table 3
Statistical Results of Students' Abilities

Test Question	Experimental Group N = 28			Control Group N = 27			t value
	Mean	SD	Median	Mean	SD	Median	
Linguistic Difference Identification	5.68	1.68	5.25	0.23	0.47	0.00	16.51*
Language-Culture Connection	7.35	3.47	7.00	1.50	1.58	1.00	8.09*
Culture Identification	4.17	1.59	4.12	1.43	1.34	1.00	6.93*
Connection Justification	3.18	2.48	2.75	0.07	0.39	0.00	6.55*
Appropriateness and Variation	12.39	4.02	12.50	8.87	3.31	9.25	3.55*
Appropriateness	9.90	3.12	10.37	6.94	2.46	7.25	3.91*
Variation	3.14	1.27	4.00	3.11	1.19	4.00	0.09**

Note. * $p < .00$. ** $p < .92$

Abilities to Relate Linguistic Differences to Underlying Cultural Values/Beliefs

(Language-Culture Connection)

Students' abilities to relate linguistic differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities (henceforth, language-culture connection abilities) were measured by the combination of their scores on two abilities: abilities to identify cultural values reflected in Malagasy and American requestive behaviors, and abilities to relate them to linguistic differences. The mean score of the experimental group on the first abilities was significantly different

from that of the control group ($M_s = 4.17$ vs. 1.43 , $SD_s = 1.59$ vs. 1.34 , respectively, $p < .00$). Likewise, there was a significant difference between the mean scores of the former and latter groups on their abilities to relate linguistic differences to cultural values/beliefs in Malagasy and American communities ($M_s = 3.18$, vs. $.07$, $SD_s = 2.48$ vs. $.39$, respectively, $p < .00$). The mean score of the former was also significantly different from that of the latter on their overall language-culture connection abilities ($M_s = 7.35$ vs. 1.50 , $SD_s = 3.47$ vs. 1.58 , respectively, $p < .00$), with the respective median scores of 7.00 and 1.00 .

Abilities to Produce Appropriate and Varied American English Requestive Behaviors (Requestive Behavior Production Abilities)

Students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requestive behaviors (henceforth, requestive behavior production abilities) were measured by the combination of their abilities to provide appropriate requests in an empty slot in two open-ended DCTs with two various contexts in each and their abilities to vary the requests they provided. The results indicated that the mean score of the experimental group informants in their abilities to produce appropriate and varied requests in American English was significantly greater than that of the control group informants ($M_s = 12.39$ vs. 8.87 , $SD_s = 4.02$ vs. 3.31 , respectively, $p < .00$).

Separate t test results indicated a significant difference between the mean scores of the experimental and control groups on their abilities to produce appropriate American English requests ($M_s = 9.90$ vs. 6.94 , $SD_s = 3.12$ vs. 2.46 , respectively, $p < .00$). There was no significant difference between the mean score of the former group and that of the

latter group on their abilities to produce varied American requestive behaviors ($M_s = 3.14$ vs. 3.11 , $SD_s = 1.27$ vs. 1.19 , respectively, $p < .92$).

In sum, the results on statistical analyses of data obtained from the English Achievement Test indicated significant differences between the experimental and control groups' mean scores in all three abilities. The only non-significant difference found concerned the two groups' mean scores on their abilities to vary their requests when computed separately from their appropriateness levels.

Qualitative Data

Qualitative data on students' abilities in American requestive behaviors were obtained from their responses to the English Achievement Test question items. They indicated that 8 out of 27 students (i.e., 30%) in the control group provided responses conveying value judgment. These were expressed through terms related to politeness (i.e., impolite, polite, politely, and impolitely), and to character. The following are examples of such instances:

“Malagasy requests are less polite. And American requests are more polite”
(ID 128, grammatical mistakes corrected).

“Malagasy speak with sympathy. Americans speak with audacity”
(i.e., arrogance; ID 147, grammatical mistakes corrected).

No instance of such value-judgment explanations was found in the experimental group students' responses.

English Achievement Test Reliability

The English Achievement Test reliability measurement was based on two types of reliability: (a) intra- and inter-rater reliability, and (b) test split-half reliability.

Intra- and Inter-Rater Reliability

Table 4 contains results on Pearson product moment correlation coefficient computations of intra- and inter-rater reliability. The intra-rater reliability coefficients range from .86 to .98. The inter-rater reliability coefficients range from .90 to .96.

Table 4
Pearson Correlation Coefficients of Intra- and Inter-Rater Reliability

Test Question	Intra-Rater Reliability		Inter-Rater Reliability
	Rater 1	Rater 2	
Linguistic Difference Identification	0.92	0.95	0.96
Language-Culture Connection	0.97	0.98	0.94
Culture Identification	0.98	0.98	0.91
Connection Justification	0.95	0.96	0.90
Appropriateness and Variation			
Appropriateness	0.94	0.93	0.94
Variation	0.92	0.86	0.93

Test Split-Half Reliability

A split-half procedure was conducted to obtain additional measurement of the English Achievement Test reliability. A computation of Pearson product moment

correlation coefficient between odd- and even-numbered items in the test yielded an r of .74.

Attitude Questionnaire Data

The fourth and fifth research questions in Study One were related to informants' attitudes toward the two approaches under investigation as follows:

4. What are English students' attitudes toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?
5. What is the English teacher's attitude toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?

This section presents quantitative and qualitative attitude data of learners and the teacher of English participating in the study. The former were obtained from informants' ratings of the two methods on a five-point Likert scale. The latter were obtained from their rating justifications/explanations.

Students' Attitudes Toward the Two Approaches

Students' attitudes toward the two approaches being investigated were measured by two types of data: (a) quantitative data obtained from 18 experimental group students' ratings of 14 items in the Student Questionnaire and from the English teacher's ratings of the 15 items in the Teacher Questionnaire Students and Learning section, and (b) qualitative data obtained from students' and teacher's justifications/explanations of their ratings. Students' ratings of the item liking of group work in the Student Questionnaire were dropped from the quantitative data analyses as 38.88% ($n = 7$) of the respondents

reported absence of previous group work experience in their regular (traditional) English class.

Quantitative Data

Statistical analysis results of students' attitudes toward the two approaches obtained from their questionnaire item ratings are displayed in Table 5. Computations of *t* tests indicated that the overall mean score of the cooperative consciousness-raising ($M = 46.17$, $SD = 6.11$) was significantly greater than the mean score of the traditional teaching method ($M = 18.33$, $SD = 11.10$, $p < .00$). Similar significant differences were found between the two approaches on the separate mean scores of the 14 factors evaluated. These mean scores ranged from 3.06 to 3.72 for the cooperative consciousness-raising, and from 1.00 to 2.22 for the traditional English class. The overall median score of the cooperative consciousness-raising method was 46.17, and that of the traditional approach was 15.00. The separate median scores of questionnaire items for the former ranged from 3.00 to 4.00, and from 1.00 to 2.00 for the latter.

Table 6 shows the results of descriptive statistics analyses of data obtained from the English teacher's ratings of the 15 items in the Teacher Questionnaire Student and Learning section. Descriptive statistics analysis results indicated that the mean score of students' attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising approach ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .46$) was higher than that of their attitudes toward the traditional approach ($M = 1.13$, $SD = .64$). The median score for students' attitudes toward the former approach was 3.00, and that for their attitudes toward the latter was 1.00. The English teacher's item ratings ranged from 3 to 4 for the former and from 0 to 2 for the latter.

Table 5
Statistical Results of Students' Attitudes by Students

Questionnaire Item	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising <i>n</i> = 18			Traditional Approach <i>n</i> = 18			t value
	Mean	SD	Median	Mean	SD	Median	
Amount of volunteer participation	3.17	0.71	3.00	2.22	1.35	2.00	-2.62
Liking of approach	3.72	0.46	4.00	1.94	1.11	2.00	-6.28
Help in lesson understanding	3.33	0.97	3.50	1.61	1.24	2.00	-4.63
Knowledge-lesson relation	3.11	0.76	3.00	1.33	0.91	1.00	-6.38
Information retention	3.22	1.11	3.5	1.17	1.15	1.00	-5.44
Education quality improvement	3.56	0.51	4.00	1.28	1.45	1.00	-6.30
Creativity enhancement	3.33	0.84	3.50	1.11	0.90	1.00	-7.66
Motivation enhancement	3.56	0.62	4.00	1.00	1.09	1.00	-8.69
Achievement improvement	3.33	0.84	3.50	1.67	1.19	1.00	-4.86
Interesting learning	3.44	0.71	4.00	1.17	1.04	1.00	-7.68
Listening practice	3.39	0.61	3.00	1.22	1.31	1.00	-6.38
Speaking practice	3.39	0.61	3.00	1.28	1.23	1.00	-6.54
Reading practice	3.17	0.98	3.50	1.50	0.98	1.00	-5.07
Writing practice	3.06	0.87	3.00	1.61	1.09	1.50	-4.38
Overall	46.17	6.11	47.00	18.33	11.10	15.00	-9.32

Note. *n* = 18 *p* < .00

Table 6
Statistical Results of Students' Attitudes by the Teacher

Approach	*N	Mean	SD	Median
Cooperative Consciousness-Raising	15	3.27	0.46	3
Traditional Approach	15	1.13	0.64	1

Note: *N represents the number of items evaluated

Overall, quantitative data obtained from students' ratings of items in the Student Questionnaire revealed significantly greater attitude mean scores on their attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising as compared to their regular traditional English class. The median score of the former approach was also greater than that of the latter. Similarly, quantitative data obtained from the English teacher's ratings of the Student and Learning section items in the Teacher Questionnaire indicated higher mean and median scores of student attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising as compared to the traditional method.

Qualitative Data

Qualitative data obtained from students' questionnaire item rating justifications/explanations are summarized in Table 7. Data coding yielded four interrelated categories: (a) cognitive, (b) affective, (c) social, and (d) general, although not all item data contained all of these categories. Results obtained for each questionnaire item are presented in this section. Some recurring themes appear in different categories within the same item data.

Amount of volunteer participation. For the **amount of volunteer participation** item, three categories emerged: (a) cognitive, (b) affective, and (c) general. Concerning the traditional approach, within the cognitive category, student respondents indicated lack of/insufficient English knowledge, inaccessibility of explanations, and inaccessibility of the English subject matter as explanations. Within the affective category, they reported apathy and motivation to learn foreign languages. Within the general category, they indicated confusion about the teaching method, exclusion of student participation, and designated student participation.

The following are examples of responses for each category:

Cognitive category:

“I can say that I don’t know English much so I don’t participate.”

“I don’t understand the English subject matter at all.”

“I can’t follow [the teaching] well.”

Affective category:

“I don’t want to participate because I don’t feel like it.”

“Because of my lack of knowledge in foreign language, I’d like to know more about them.”

General category:

“There isn’t much of having students to participate.”

“The teacher often designates [students].”

The teacher’s explanation was as follows:

“It’s only those who know/are able that participate.”

Table 7
Category Summary of Student Attitude Rating Justifications by Students

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Amount of volunteer participation	Cognitive	lack of English knowledge meaninglessness inaccessibility no/insufficient understanding	English knowledge improvement intellectual challenge
	Affective	apathy foreign language learning motivation	appreciation motivation enhancement interest enhancement
	General	meaninglessness of method confusion no understanding locus of control participation exclusion teacher designation	effectiveness technique transferability disciplined learning participation inducement language skill use
Liking of approach	Cognitive	meaninglessness repetitive lesson teaching little knowledge gain	meaningfulness knowledge gain useful/varied knowledge sufficient understanding
	Affective	lack of motivating features apathy English learning motivation	enjoyment interest inducement self-confidence enhancement

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Liking of group work	General	no/insufficient skill use speaking locus of control student time exclusion meaninglessness unclear method unclear explanations	skill use inducement speaking writing locus of control student participation learning facilitation
	Cognitive		gain novel knowledge useful/varied knowledge perspective variety novel learning strategies
	Affective	apathy	enjoyment inducement motivation inducement
	Social	collaboration opportunity	opportunity collaboration talk sharing social skill use
	General	unclear expectation no feedback	clear expectation feedback presence
Lesson understanding enhancement	Cognitive	no understanding	intellectual challenge/involvement existing knowledge use
	Social		mutual teaching

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Knowledge-lesson relation	General	native language use locus of control teacher lectures meaninglessness no understanding insufficient explanations cross-disciplinary uselessness lesson-test unrelatedness	disciplined learning novel technique incorporation meaningfulness existing knowledge use real-world usefulness
	Cognitive	mere lessons no understanding no existing knowledge growth	communication strategies existing knowledge activation way of working way of thinking comparison/contrast knowledge modification exploration stimulation
	Affective		appreciation learning facilitation
	General	unhelpful no activity	effectiveness
Information retention enhancement	Cognitive	meaninglessness lesson vagueness explanation vagueness little/no retention confusion no learning	meaningfulness good retention sustained retention effortless retention immediate growth

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Improvement of quality of education	Affective		motivation inducement
	General		multiple learning strategies/tools visual organizers
	Cognitive	inaccessibility limited to lesson recitation	intellectual involvement knowledge gain language skill acquisition exploration of others
	Affective		character building
	Social		peer interaction social behavior building
	General	meaninglessness confusion limited to mere instruction disconnectedness with real-world	meaningfulness structured accessible multiple strategies active participation
Creativity enhancement	Cognitive	little accessibility no background knowledge	intellectual involvement exploration technique activity goal knowledge
	Affective	no supportive environment	interest inducement
	Social	no idea sharing	idea sharing

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Learning motivation enhancement	General	no creativity inducement ineffectiveness no novelty	effectiveness creativity enhancement novelty structured method
	Cognitive	no concrete improvement	sustained knowledge improvement learning facilitation
	Affective	apathy no nurturing environment	enhancement self-confidence enjoyment excitement interest nurturing environment
Achievement improvement	General	no language skill use no motivation inducement	student-focused
	Cognitive	poor achievement no understanding no concrete improvement	knowledge growth curiosity inducement intellectual involvement learning facilitation feedback
	Affective	motivation eradication	motivation inducement enjoyment inducement
	General	meaningless efforts no language skill use	participation opportunity immediate concrete results

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Learning interest enhancement	Cognitive	lack of language skills lack of knowledge	understanding knowledge gain
	Affective	lack of interest lack of nurture	enjoyment inducement satisfying
	General	lack of novelty	student involvement novelty direction accessibility frequent English use
Listening practice	Cognitive	lack of understanding	understanding
	Affective	lack of interest no English appreciation	enjoyment inducement improvement motivation
	General	no English use	frequent English use multiple strategies skill reciprocal reinforcement
Speaking skill practice	Cognitive	lack of understanding	understanding
	Affective	skill improvement motivation lack of self-confidence	self-confidence enhancement
	General	lack of skill use lecture domination	English use domination student involvement reciprocal skill reinforcement

(table continues)

Questionnaire Item	Category	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
Reading skill practice	Cognitive	lack of understanding	understanding
	Affective	de-motivation	language improvement motivation skill improvement motivation self-confidence enhancement
	General	lack of reading skill use	reciprocal skill reinforcement
Writing skill practice	Cognitive	lack of skill improvement lack of knowledge	noticeable improvement understanding
	Affective	discouraging	motivation inducement appreciation inducement
	General	written work domination	reciprocal skill reinforcement student participation meaningful skill use

Regarding the cooperative consciousness-raising practice, student informants reported English knowledge improvement and intellectual challenge within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, they indicated appreciation of the approach, motivation, interest enhancement, and English knowledge improvement motivation. Within the general category, they reported approach effectiveness as related to technique transferability, disciplined learning, participation inducement, English language skill use, and unexpected speaking skill improvement.

The following are examples of responses provided by students:

Cognitive category:

“I was suddenly [unexpectedly] speaking [English].”

“The various vocabulary items make one think hard and improve intellectually.”

Affective category:

“I like the teaching.”

“Even though I had problems, I made a lot of effort to do what I could so that I can improve my knowledge.”

General category:

“I realized that the strategies used were effective and I’d like to use these to deal with other things.”

“I did the work as instructed, worked together in group, [and] gave explanations often.”

“It was like I always felt like speaking and showing my lack of knowledge as well.”

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"Each student participated even though they had challenges with speaking."

Liking of the approach. For the liking of approach item, cognitive, affective, and general categories of justifications/explanations were found.

For the traditional approach, students reported meaninglessness and little knowledge gain within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, they indicated apathy, lack of motivating features, and motivation to learn English. Within the general category, they reported lack of/insufficient speaking skill use, student time exclusion, and unclear approach.

The following are examples of explanations offered by students:

Cognitive category:

"It's what has been taught [before] that is being taught again and again."

"It helped know [just] a little bit of English."

Affective category:

"It's not a particular teaching approach but just bulky lessons."

"The teaching isn't that good."

General category:

"There isn't much speaking over there, but a lot of writing."

"There isn't much time [provided] for students."

"Explanations aren't clear to me."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

“Students that know English like it, but those that don’t know [English] don’t like it.”

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, they indicated sufficient understanding, useful and multifaceted knowledge gains within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, they stated enjoyable, interesting, and self-confidence enhancing approach as justifications/explanations. Within the general category, they reported speaking and writing skill use, student participation opportunity, and learning facilitation.

The following are examples of students’ explanations:

Cognitive category:

“I really understood everything said in English.”

“It has improved my speaking skill and helped me gain varied and interesting knowledge.”

“I feel that there are many things that I hadn’t known [before], but they have become clearer now.”

Affective category:

“It’s enjoyable to me.”

“The teaching approach was good and interesting.”

“It has helped me a lot in daring to speak and give my opinion.”

General category:

“We could speak in English and write it as well.”

“I could participate well in the learning even though it was obviously difficult.”

The English teacher's explanation was as follows:

"Even though they [students] don't know how to speak [English], it was noted that they like the approach, and it interests them very much."

Liking of group work. There were four categories related to the liking of group work item: cognitive, affective, social, and general.

Informants who had previous experience with group work in their traditional English class reported unclear expectations because of lack of feedback within the cognitive category, apathy within the affective category, and collaboration within the social category.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"Each group does whatever it wants."

"Our mistakes aren't corrected."

"The ideas of the many can reach far, so what I don't know is/are known by others [and vice versa]."

Affective category:

"I don't like it."

"I could speak [English] even if it is a little bit."

General category:

"It offers opportunities for cooperation and collaboration."

The teacher's explanation was as follows:

"Some students just shelter themselves in groups and don't work."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising, they reported useful and multifaceted knowledge gains, perspective variety, novel learning strategies, and clear expectations within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, they indicated enjoyable and motivating approach. Within the social category, they indicated collaboration, sharing, talk opportunity, and social skill use.

The following are examples of explanations offered by students:

Cognitive category:

“It has helped me discover many things that I wouldn’t have been able to hadn’t it for it.”

“Ideas complement each other: Others know what I don’t, and I know what others don’t.”

“Students could know new ways of working.”

“Our mistakes in groups are corrected.”

Affective category:

“It’s something new, wonderful, and motivating.”

General category:

“Students could teach things they knew to each other within groups.”

“I can learn, share my knowledge with others, and freely give my opinions, and say what I know concerning the topics to work on.”

“There was time for talk.”

“[It] Has helped me listen to others who speak.”

“There were group members in higher grades who showed off.”

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"Group roles are different [i.e., students have different group roles], therefore, collaboration interests them."

Lesson understanding enhancement. Justifications/explanations of the lesson understanding enhancement item ratings were of three categories: cognitive, social, and general.

For the traditional approach, student informants indicated lack of understanding, insufficient explanations, and teacher-controlled lectures within the cognitive category. Within the general category, they reported cross-disciplinary uselessness, meaningless improvement effort, and absence of learning. Also, a student reported the use of the Malagasy language to help with understanding.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"I don't understand any of its meaning."

"The explanations given by the teacher are insufficient to understand the lessons."

"It's like it didn't show me any new things but it's the little I knew from lower grades that is a bit complemented."

General category:

"It's she alone that speaks and explains over there [in the front]."

"It's not needed much for other subject matters."

"Test questions are unrelated to lessons."

"The lessons aren't clear at all."

“There were explanations in Malagasy when needed.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“There are students who understand, and there are others who don’t.” [note: use of active voice].

For the cooperative consciousness-raising approach, students indicated intellectual involvement/challenge, disciplined learning, and use of existing knowledge within the cognitive category, mutual teaching within the social category, and real-world usefulness within the general category.

The following are examples of explanations provided by students:

Cognitive category:

“When [one’s] brain is used to working on difficult matters, one can understand everything one does.”

“It has allowed me to work in a thoughtful manner, instead of doing whatever like I did before. That is, it has helped me discover strategies to use when questions are asked.”

“There were many things that I hadn’t known in [the regular] class that I have come to understand now.”

Social category:

“Each student gives explanations, so what one didn’t understand becomes understood.”

General category:

“There were new things that will help me in life.”

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"Each student brought his/her own contribution(s) into the explorations."

Knowledge-lesson relation. For the knowledge-lesson relation, informants' justifications/explanations included cognitive, affective, and general categories.

For the traditional method of instruction, data involved mere lessons, lack of understanding, and lack of existing knowledge growth within the cognitive category. The general category concerned unhelpful method and lack of activity. Response examples read as follows:

Cognitive category:

"There is only a vast amount of mere lessons over there."

"Before, there was no growth regarding the knowledge that I already had."

General category:

"Nothing is clear to me, it doesn't help at all."

"No activity has been carried out over there."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising practice, justifications/explanations of the knowledge-lesson relation item comprised effective communication strategies, existing knowledge activation as regard way of working, way of thinking, comparison/contrast, and exploration stimulation within the cognitive category. The affective category included learning facilitation related to appreciation. The general category involved effectiveness of the practice.

The following are examples of responses provided by informants:

Cognitive category:

“There are many things that are already known as for the way to deal with them, and the way of thinking.”

“It enabled me to compare and explore other things as an addition.”

“There were several known examples/illustrations.”

“It enabled me to modify wrong knowledge that I shouldn’t have.”

Affective category:

“I appreciate it so it facilitates learning.”

General category:

“It is an effective technique.”

Information retention enhancement. For the information retention enhancement item, student justifications/explanations fell into three categories: cognitive, affective, and general.

Concerning the traditional approach, responses involved meaninglessness, that is, lesson/explanation vagueness, lack of/little retention, confusion, and absence of learning within the cognitive category.

The following are examples of students’ explanations:

“What was taught before hasn’t been understood, yet, new lessons are being taught.”

“I don’t know what I’m doing.”

“It appears that there aren’t many things that I can remember.”

“There wasn’t much learning over there.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“There is no retention because of insufficient [student] participation.”

Regarding the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, students’ justifications/explanations involved good and sustained retention, and immediate intellectual growth within the cognitive category, motivating approach within the affective category, and multiple learning strategies/tools and visual materials within the general category.

Examples of students’ explanations are as follows:

Cognitive category:

“I can’t get the things we’ve done off my head.”

“[It has] Made my brain sharp in a very short time.”

Affective category:

“Learning strategies are motivating.”

General category:

“There are many strategies that are good to know and easy to apply.”

“They [lessons] are easy to remember because of the visual materials used to deliver them.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“The visual materials help them [students].”

Improvement of the quality of education. Four categories surfaced from rating justifications/explanations of the improvement of the quality of education item: cognitive, affective, social, and general.

For the traditional approach, lesson delivery, recitation, and inaccessibility were indicated within the cognitive category. Confusion, limitation to instruction, lack of educational features, and disconnection with the real world were cited within the general category.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"What takes most room is just instruction and lesson teaching."

"What is being done is parroting."

"What is intended to be conveyed is not clear or understood."

General category:

"I don't see it [education] much but I just study."

"There is no such a thing [education]."

"There is no relationship with everyday life."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"Not all students participate."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising, intellectual involvement, knowledge gain, learning facilitation, language skill acquisition, and pursuit of exploration of others were indicated within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, character building was reported. Within the social category, peer interaction, reciprocal

educational influence, and exploration of others were stated. Within the general category, meaningfulness in terms of activity structure and accessibility, language skill use, multiple strategies, active participation, and multiple outcomes were indicated.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"Everybody explores and collaborates."

"When one is used to speaking, writing, and know a lot of vocabulary, these skills and knowledge can be used to understand several other things and improve the quality of education."

Social category:

"Human beings' ways of life were analyzed in depth, and the analyses can be further pursued."

"For me, it has taught me to take responsibility, not only in class but [also] in all areas."

"Each can give his/he opinions, and this offered ways of behaving as one should; for example, I've learnt ways how to behave."

Affective category:

"It is a motivating teaching approach."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"Students' skills complement each other."

Creativity enhancement. Data related to the creativity enhancement item were of four categories: cognitive, affective, social, and general.

For the traditional approach, informants indicated little accessibility within the cognitive category, lack of supportive environment within the affective category, lack of idea sharing within the social category, and lack of creativity inducement and novelty within the general category.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"It can't help [one] gain knowledge to understand what should be understood."

Affective category:

"Cheering and encouraging skills, as well as collaboration with students are absent."

Social category:

"There is no group [activity] to share ideas."

General category:

"Students create nothing, but just copy lessons all the time."

"There isn't much new, there isn't any new strategy."

"Speaking and writing skill practices are insufficient."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"[It] Can't [enhance student creativity] because [student] participation is insufficient."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, intellectual involvement, exploration techniques, and activity goal knowledge were cited. Within the affective category, interest inducement was mentioned. Within the social category, presence of

idea sharing was revealed. Within the general category, presence of creativity inducing features, of novelty, and of structure were indicated.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"Students have to explore rather than remain satisfied with what has been discovered."

Affective category:

"Many [students] were interested in the activities."

Social category:

"One can give opinions in groups."

General category:

"Students are required to design materials to be used for the explanations of what their group has done."

"It's students' ideas that are dealt with."

"Each individual has a role category, and it's there that one can create."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"[Students] Can present their ideas as they like. This was apparent during their designing of visual materials."

Motivation enhancement. Three categories emerged from data related to the motivation enhancement item: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional approach, the cognitive category involved absence of concrete improvement. The affective category included apathy and lack of nurture. The general category comprised lack of language skill use and motivating features.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"Kids don't gain much knowledge, [and] progress isn't noticed."

Affective category:

"It was observed that students weren't eager to learn."

"Encouragement and skills in how to capture students' hearts are insufficient.

Individual students are unable to take responsibility because all students are considered as an undifferentiated whole, so it [method] isn't attracting."

General category:

"Students don't speak much."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"It's like they work alone, so they are unenthusiastic."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising method, learning facilitation and sustained knowledge improvement were indicated within the cognitive category.

Motivation, self-confidence, excitement, and interest inducement, and nurturing environment were reported within the affective category. Student-centeredness was revealed within the general category.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

“It’s interesting and enjoyable, so [it] facilitates learning.”

“Knowledge keeps improving.”

Affective category:

“Students’ involvement in explorations increases their motivation.”

“We could practice speaking and that eradicated timidity.”

“It’s really exciting, and that’s no fake compliment.”

“The teaching method was interesting, and there were topics about Malagasy cultural values.”

“There was collaboration and learning was full of love.”

General category:

“Each student can give his/her opinions.”

“We became used to listening to English so what was being said became understood.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Collaborative work is enjoyable.”

Achievement improvement. Three categories emerged from data on the achievement improvement enhancement item: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional approach, the cognitive category included poor achievement and lack of understanding, the affective category involved de-motivation, and the general category contained insufficient student participation, meaningless efforts, and lack of language skill use.

The following are examples of explanations provided by students:

Cognitive and affective categories:

“It doesn’t motivate me [to learn] because of my lack of understanding; so it will not improve my achievement.”

General category:

“Students’ participation is insufficient.”

“I don’t see any improvement in my grades whether I study or not.”

“Students never speak English.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Individual work is not beneficial.”

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, the cognitive category included knowledge growth, learning facilitation, presence of curiosity inducement, and of intellectual involvement. The affective category comprised motivating and enjoyable features. The general category involved frequent use of English, student participation inducement, and immediate and concrete outcomes.

The following are examples of students’ explanations:

Cognitive category:

“The study lasted for a very short time; yet, I already notice the results.”

“It speeds up my acquisition of the lessons.”

“It enables me to explore more.”

“Nobody was just given/imparted [knowledge], but [rather] each participant had to use his/her mind to search for answers; so, this has expanded each individual student’s intelligence.”

Affective category:

“It motivates me to continuously want to learn.”

“Students like it.”

General category:

“There was frequent use of English.”

“Each individual student takes his/her responsibility. Each group talks about the efforts it has made; then, there is correction of what was done wrong. It goes without saying that knowing correct answers is good.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Collaborative work is beneficial.”

Learning interest enhancement. Data related to the learning interest enhancement item were of three categories: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional approach, lack of knowledge was indicated within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, lack of interest inducement and nurture was reported. Within the general category, lack of novelty was mentioned.

Cognitive category:

“There is lack of English knowledge so learning isn’t interesting.”

“I can’t speak it [English] much.”

Affective category:

“I don’t see what is interesting in there.”

“Animation and cooperation aren’t sufficient enough. Added to that is the teacher’s anger related to things students don’t remember or know.”

General category:

“There aren’t new things.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“[Students’] Minds don’t work but passively receive [information].”

For the cooperative consciousness-raising method, activity understanding and knowledge gain were indicated within the cognitive category. Satisfaction, enjoyment, and interest inducement were reported within the affective category. Presence of novelty, student involvement, and frequent use of English were revealed within the general category.

The following are examples of explanations provided by students:

Cognitive category:

“It’s easy to follow instructions.”

“If English teaching for these many years were like the one used during the study, maybe I would have been gone far [with English knowledge] by now.”

“It has enabled improve one’s learning strategies.”

Affective category:

“It’s satisfying and clear, and it offers a lot of knowledge besides English.”

“When it [the method] is liked, it’s interesting.”

General category:

“There are always fascinating things, unusual things that aren’t often heard of.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“[Students’] Minds work rather than passively receive [information].”

Listening and practice enhancement. Three categories surfaced from the listening practice enhancement item: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional method of instruction, the cognitive category involved lack of understanding, the affective category included lack of interest and of the English language appreciation, and the general category contained lack of/insufficient use of English speaking.

The following are examples of students’ explanations:

Cognitive category:

“It [English] can’t be understood, so one becomes tired of it.”

“There is too much lack of knowledge of it [English].”

Affective category:

“There is lack of interest.”

“I couldn’t like English.”

General category:

“We don’t speak English very much in class.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Most of the time, activities involve written work, and [they are] copied on the chalkboard.”

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, understanding and knowledge gain were indicated within the cognitive category, knowledge improvement motivation and enjoyment within the affective category, and frequent use of English in speaking, presence of multiple strategies, and reciprocal skill reinforcement within the general category.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"Many things are understood."

"I noticed my improvement in English."

Affective category:

"I want to know more about it."

"It really attracts [one's] attention, and is interesting."

General category:

"Students became used to writing and reading English, so listening to it became enjoyable. And students became used to listening to it."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"When starters and movers explain the work to be done in groups, all other [group] members have to listen [to them]."

Speaking practice enhancement. Data from the speaking practice enhancement item ratings involved three categories: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional approach, the cognitive category included lack of understanding, the affective category involved language skill improvement motivation

and lack of self-confidence, and the general category comprised lack of skill use and domination of lectured lessons.

Cognitive category:

“The language used isn’t very clear.”

“I understand nothing of the meaning of what is being said.”

Affective category:

“I never dared speak in English.”

“It hasn’t attracted [one] much because it’s difficult.”

General category:

“It [i.e., speaking] is not practiced.”

“[Students] Don’t read [English] often.”

“Students never speak English.”

“It’s lessons that are of enormous amount over there.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Speaking is practiced only occasionally for dialogs.”

For the cooperative consciousness-raising, the cognitive category contained understanding, the affective category included self-confidence inducement, and the general category involved domination of English use, student involvement, and reciprocal skill reinforcement.

Cognitive category:

“I already speak [English] and can find vocabulary different from that in the regular class.”

Affective category:

“It gave me strength and courage even though I’m shy by nature; so in the end, I was able to know how to speak.”

“I already dare speak and explain in English [now].”

“Each individual can freely take responsibility, voluntarily and not by imposition.”

General category:

“Many explanations are given in English.”

“Students try to invent, so at the end, they know how to speak and are ultimately used to listening [to English].”

“We are told to always explain in English.”

“It has become a habit of the eyes to pay attention to and read words, so it is easy for the mouth to utter them because it is used to.”

Reading practice enhancement. Three categories emerged from data on the reading practice enhancement item: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional method, lack of understanding and of intellectual focus was reported within the cognitive category, apathy within the affective category, and lack of reading skill use within the general category.

The following are examples of explanations provided by students:

Cognitive category:

“Its [English] meaning isn’t understood and what is being conveyed isn’t known.”

“My mind didn’t focus on it much.”

General category:

“We don’t read [English] often throughout the school year.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“[It’s] Insufficient.”

The data related to the cooperative consciousness-raising technique included understanding within the cognitive category, knowledge and skill improvement motivation, and self-confidence inducement within the affective category, and reciprocal skill reinforcement and presence of feedback within the general category.

The following are examples of students’ explanations:

Cognitive category:

“I already know and understand what is said in English.”

“Each student can read now.”

Affective category:

“It encouraged me to read.”

“I have really come to appreciate it [English].”

General category:

“Students became used to listening to and speaking [English] thanks to exposure to it.”

“When one makes mistakes, correction and explanations are provided.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“Mutual teaching of group members.”

Writing practice enhancement. Three categories surfaced from data on the **writing practice enhancement** item: cognitive, affective, and general.

For the traditional approach, the cognitive category included lack of knowledge and improvement, the affective category involved discouragement, and the general category comprised domination of written work.

The following are examples of students' explanations:

Cognitive category:

"I'm unable to build sentences."

"There is nothing for me to write, and I don't understand it [English] as well."

"Students don't explore but are passive recipients [of knowledge]."

"I don't see much of my improvement over there: there were still lots of mistakes in my writing."

Affective category:

"The [English] language is difficult, so that's discouraging."

"One is not used to hearing English, so one hesitates to write because one doesn't know for sure whether what one writes is correct."

General category:

"There are lots of written assignments."

The teacher's explanation is as follows:

"The majority of written assignments are written work."

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, the cognitive category entailed understanding and noticeable improvement, the affective category included

motivation inducement, and the general category involved student participation, reciprocal skill reinforcement, and meaningful skill use.

The following are examples of explanations provided by students:

Cognitive category:

“I already understand the importance of [knowledge of] other languages, so I make efforts to write English.”

“I’m writing English faster, my written work doesn’t contain many mistakes any more; this is so because each student participates in writing down what has been done [in groups].”

Affective category:

“It encourages me to participate in discussions.”

“The way it [information] was conveyed was attracting.”

General category:

“Each [student] makes efforts to write down what he/she wants to convey to the audience, there is collaboration.”

“I understood everything I wanted to say, and it [method] has helped me write, speak, and listen.”

The teacher’s explanation is as follows:

“They [students] must take notes down during each member’s teaching in groups.”

Overall, qualitative data obtained from students’ questionnaire item rating justifications/explanations involved cognitive, affective, social, and general categories.

The great majority of respondents reported positive statements in favor of the cooperative consciousness-raising as compared to their traditional English teaching approach. The following examples can epitomize students' rating justifications/explanations with regard to the former:

"The cooperative consciousness-raising is satisfying because there are so many benefits that have already been received (from it)" (ID 107).

"Everybody explores [in groups] and several opinions are expressed. So, it's interesting" (ID 116).

"If I have been taught with an approach like this one used during the study for all those many, many years I've been studying English, maybe I'd have been gone far by now" (ID 123).

The following can summarize students' justifications/explanations of item rating concerning the traditional method:

"There aren't sufficient animation and efforts to fully capture students' hearts. Each individual student cannot take responsibility because [the class] is just an undifferentiated whole; so, it is not attracting" (ID 118).

"Our mistakes aren't corrected so each individual group does whatever it does [without knowing what it's expected to do]" (ID 104).

"It is only she (the teacher) that talks and explains over there [at a materially and/or intellectually visible spot which is outside my space]" (ID 121).

The English teacher's justifications/explanations of her item ratings support these results. They reveal more positive students' attitudes toward the cooperative

consciousness-raising teaching/learning practice as compared to her traditional English class.

The English Teacher's Attitudes Toward the Two Approaches

The English teacher's attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional method of instruction were measured two types of data: (a) quantitative data obtained from her ratings of 7 items in the Teacher Questionnaire Teacher and Teaching section and (b) qualitative data obtained from her justifications/explanations of the ratings.

Quantitative Data

Descriptive statistics analyses indicated that central tendencies of the English attitude scores obtained from her questionnaire item ratings were higher for the cooperative consciousness-raising practice as compared to her traditional method of English instruction (see Table 8). The former practice received a mean score of 2.57, SD = 1.13, and a median of 3.00, with item ratings ranging from 1 to 4. The latter received a mean score of 1.43, SD = .54, and a median of 1.00, with item ratings ranging from 1 to 2.

Table 8
Statistical Results for Teacher's Attitudes

<u>Approach</u>	<u>*N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Median</u>
Cooperative Consciousness-Raising	7	2.57	1.13	3.00
Traditional Approach	7	1.43	0.54	1.00

Note: *N represents the number of factors evaluated

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data obtained from the English teacher's rating justifications/explanations were as follows:

She indicated great liking of the cooperative consciousness-raising because "it's enjoyable to see each student express his/her opinions and participates," and little liking of the traditional teaching because "there is no cooperation between teacher and students." She reported great liking of activities in the former because "collaboration and cooperation bring about benefits," and moderate liking of activities in the latter "despite their variety." She indicated the greatest ability for the former to induce interest in English teaching because "having students to participate makes it meaningful," and little ability for the latter to do so because "it does not enthuse students to participate." She rated the ability of the former to enhance teaching motivation great because "collaborative participation stimulating and heartening," and little ability for the latter to do so because "it is de-motivating to see students as mere [information] receivers." She reported great confidence in using the former "considering the promising outcomes obtained," and little confidence in using the latter because "it isn't that productive." She indicated little challenge in using the former, and moderate challenge in using the latter. The same ratings were provided regarding her concerns in using the approaches "considering what has been noticed" about each of them. She concluded, "[the cooperative consciousness-raising] is really good and interesting, but the problem concerns materials."

Overall, the English teacher's attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising techniques are more favorable compared to her attitudes toward the traditional method of instruction used in her regular classes. Results on the quantitative data analysis indicate a significant difference in favor of the former. Qualitative data show that her more positive attitude is related to student involvement, student collaboration, meaningfulness, positive outcomes, and motivation inducement. Her more negative attitude toward the traditional teaching approach is linked to absence of teacher-student collaboration, absence of student participation inducement, and students' passive information reception. She is more confident in using the cooperative consciousness-raising than the traditional approach, and finds using the latter more challenging than using the former. She is more concerned using the latter than the former.

In sum, Study One statistical analysis results of students' performances indicate that the informants in cooperative consciousness-raising teaching treatment received mean scores significantly higher than those in the traditional teaching treatment on each of the three abilities in American English requestive behaviors being assessed. Qualitative data obtained from students' test responses support this finding. Analyses of quantitative data obtained from student attitude questionnaire item ratings reveal that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice received mean scores significantly greater compared to the traditional method of instruction. Similarly, descriptive analysis results of teacher attitude questionnaire item ratings indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising received greater means and medians compared to the traditional method. Qualitative data obtained from students' ratings of questionnaire items show more

favorable statements related to the former practice as compared to the latter regarding students and learning. Similarly, the English teacher's questionnaire item rating justifications/explanations indicate more positive statements related to the former practice as compared to the latter regarding the teacher and teaching.

Discussions and interpretations of Study One results presented in this chapter are offered in Chapter VI. This is followed by the themes that emerged from interpretations of the portrayals described in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter discusses and interprets the findings of Study One and Study Two presented in the previous two chapters. Both foreign/second language literature and educational literature are utilized to support the arguments being advanced.

Study One

The major purpose of Study One was to investigate the technical soundness of a cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice as indicated by its (in)effectiveness compared to a traditional method of English instruction. This (in)effectiveness was measured via two types of measurement: (a) the ability of each method to affect students' communicative abilities in American English requestive behaviors, and (b) the attitudes of English learners and their teacher toward the two teaching methods. The following section contains discussions and interpretations of the results obtained from these two types of measurement.

Teaching Approaches and Students' Communicative Abilities in American English

Requestive Behaviors

The (in)effectiveness of the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional methods of English instruction to affect students' abilities in American English requestive behaviors was related to answers to the following three research questions:

1. How do students' abilities to identify differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors differ as a function of instructional method?

2. How do students' abilities to relate differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities differ as a function of instructional method?

3. How do students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American requestive behaviors in different contexts differ as a function of instructional method?

The following paragraphs provide discussions and interpretations of the results obtained for each research question.

Linguistic Difference Identification Abilities

Students' linguistic difference identification abilities were measured by their abilities to identify and describe two differences in the linguistic devices used in Malagasy and American English as reflected in requests provided to them in the Identification section, and provided by them in the Production section of the English Achievement Test. Linguistic differences concerned the head act orientation and the type of supportive move used. To repeat, the former referred to the sentence orientation, that is, sentence voices, in the English and Malagasy languages. The latter involved supportive moves identified in the CCSARP coding manual (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989a). Use of technical terms was not required to receive points. Misspelling and grammatical mistakes did not affect scoring unless they impinged the meaning conveyed.

A significant difference between the mean score of the experimental group (5.68, $SD = 1.68$) and that of the control group (.23, $SD = 0.47$, $p < .00$) was found as indicated by t -test results. The median score of the former was 5.25 and that of the latter was .00.

These results indicate that students in the cooperative consciousness-raising treatment performed significantly better than those in the traditional method treatment in identifying and describing linguistic differences in Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors. Further, about 50% of those in the former group scored 5.25 or less, while the same percentage of those in the latter treatment scored .00. Additionally, the similarity between each group mean and standard deviation seem to indicate the presence of more or less normal distributions.

These findings are striking, namely, the very low mean and median scores of the control group. Indeed, these scores suggest a very low level of English, particularly given the following: (a) The traditional method utilized to teach them English placed primary emphasis on grammatical features such as “passive vs. active voice”; (b) The intensive reviews undertaken by the English teacher with these students included these sentence structures; And (c) the Malagasy language subject area has a major sentence structure component at least beginning in 6th grade. Based on these, it is reasonable to state that these students had a fair amount of Malagasy and English grammatical knowledge that would have allowed them to score higher than they did. Their very low mean and median scores could suggest their inability to retrieve relevant existing knowledge and apply it to the contexts at hand, or a failure to use knowledge-based strategies via its manipulations (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985). They could have come to *learn*, consciously or unconsciously, that answers related to sentence voices have to be triggered by a stimulus in the form of instructions/directions such as put the following sentences into the active/passive voice, which abound in the student’s

notebook. Therefore, the absence of such a stimulus in the test question could have led them to exclude answers related to sentence voice structures. In other words, it may be that they failed to see the relevance of these answers because of the absence of the stimulus that would signal that they are *expected* to give these types of responses.

This interpretation is in accord with the behaviorist theory of learning, namely Watson's (1926, in Ornstein & Hunkins, 1993) stimulus-response or "classical conditioning" (p. 108), which views learning as based on the science of behavior "and not on cognitive processes" (p. 110): These students may have learnt mechanical, thought-free, behaviors connected to specific stimuli, behaviors often attributed to the impact of traditional methods of instruction on students. Indeed, attitude data provided by informants involve reports on the emphasis of "mere parroting" as a method of learning in their traditional English classroom (see the section on attitude presented later in this chapter). Mere repetition does not help learners understand and become aware of their knowledge (Piaget, 1977). Awareness of one's knowledge is needed for one to be able to access or draw on it (Bransford et al., 1986).

On the contrary, the scores of the students in the cooperative consciousness-raising treatment suggest their greater ability to identify linguistic strategies used in Malagasy and American English although they had been exposed to a lesser amount of grammar-related input compared to their peers in the traditional group. This can reflect a better ability to retrieve and apply relevant existing knowledge to the contexts at hand by utilizing knowledge-based strategies via knowledge manipulations (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985). The in-depth analyses and explorations in which they were

involved during cooperative consciousness-raising technique activities could have assisted them in this knowledge retrieval and application and allowed them to overcome observed stimulus-response effects in their behaviors. Indeed, during the first session of their training, their behaviors appeared somehow *controlled*: For example, they were unable to identify the meaning of the word name, spoken and written, when the researcher introduced herself to them, although they had written it on their English test, quiz, and examination sheets for years. It seemed as if this word was relevant or meaningful to them *only* in these contexts, leading to their failure to establish a connection between it and the researcher's self-introduction because it was not a test, quiz, or examination time. Activities involving student collaborative explorations such as those in the cooperative consciousness-raising treatment would not yield such stimulus-response related behaviors. Indeed, such types of learning experiences enable learners to construct or reconstruct their knowledge and help them understand and become aware of what they know (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). This awareness is necessary if they are to be able to access or draw on their knowledge (Bransford et al., 1986), as noted above.

Language-Culture Connection Abilities

Students' language-culture connection abilities, or abilities to relate linguistic differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, were measured by the combination of their scores on two abilities: (a) abilities to identify cultural values reflected in Malagasy and American requestive behaviors, and (b) abilities to relate them to linguistic differences including ability to justify/explain the use of different linguistic strategies in relation to

different cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, and ability to identify an additional or different interpretation of American English requestive linguistic strategies if Malagasy cultural frames of reference were employed to interpret them, or vice versa.

Results of *t*-test showed a significant difference between the mean scores of the experimental and control groups ($\underline{M} = 4.17$, $\underline{SD} = 1.59$ for the former and $\underline{M} = 1.43$, $\underline{SD} = 1.34$ for the latter) on the first abilities. Likewise, the mean scores on their abilities to relate linguistic differences to cultural values/beliefs in Malagasy and American communities significantly differed ($\underline{M} = 3.18$, $\underline{SD} = 2.48$ for the former, and $\underline{M} = .07$, $\underline{SD} = .39$ for the latter). Similarly, the mean score of the former ($\underline{M} = 7.35$, $\underline{SD} = 3.47$) was significantly greater than that of the latter ($\underline{M} = 1.50$, $\underline{SD} = 1.58$) on their overall language-culture connection abilities ($p < .00$), with median scores of 7.00 and 1.00, respectively (see results in Table 3).

These findings indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising group students performed significantly better than those in the traditional group in language-culture connection abilities in Malagasy and American requestive behaviors. The median scores reveal that about 50% of the former obtained a score of 7.00 or less and the same number of the latter received a score of 1.00 or less. The mean and median scores of each group are similar, suggesting normal distributions.

Again, these findings are surprising. The very low mean and median scores of the traditional treatment students are particularly striking given the following: (a) The content covered in this treatment included lessons/topics related to culture such as “social and cultural life,” (b) this (12th grader) group’s history-geography syllabus contains

themes related to “the American way of life,” and (c) these students had been taught Malagasy cultural values/beliefs in their Malagasy language subject area at least since 6th grade.

Considering these elements, it is reasonable to argue that these students did have knowledge of American English and Malagasy cultural values/beliefs. Their very poor scores in their abilities to identify and describe these values/beliefs as reflected in American English and Malagasy requestive behaviors, however, reveal their failure to exhibit such knowledge. This failure prevented them from making a connection between the languages involved and the related cultural values/beliefs. This affected their scores in their language-culture connection abilities. Again, it could be that these students were unable to retrieve and apply relevant existing knowledge to the tasks at hand by utilizing knowledge-based strategies (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985) because of their lack of awareness of what they know (Bransford et al., 1986). If understanding and knowledge awareness result from knowledge construction or reconstruction (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973), the explicit teaching of cultural values/beliefs to these students in traditional classrooms failed to raise their knowledge awareness, leading to their inability to activate knowledge relevant to the contexts at hand. A related and complementary interpretation involves these students’ inability to cross subject area boundaries. That is, they could have learnt that a certain type of knowledge is only related to a certain type of discipline, and failed to utilize and manipulate relevant knowledge they had acquired in other fields. Indeed, the compartmentalization of fields present in schools can obstruct

students' understanding of relationships involved between these fields because it can result in the compartmentalization of their minds (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973).

Another important point concerning responses provided by students in the traditional method group as related to Malagasy and American English cultural values/beliefs needs to be mentioned. The teaching of speech acts or language functions (including requests) in the traditional English class was conducted via the formal-informal and polite-impolite formats or continua. A closer examination of students' responses revealed that 8 out of the 27 students (i.e., about 30%) in the control group gave value-judgment-related justifications/explanations. These were expressed through terms like polite, impolite, politely, impolitely, and audacity. Certainly, no American would be appreciative of explanations like "Malagasy speak with sympathy. Americans speak with audacity" (i.e., with arrogance, ID 147, grammatical mistakes corrected). Likewise, no Malagasy would approve explanations such as "Malagasy requests are less polite. And Americans requests are more polite" (ID 128, grammatical mistakes corrected). These are compelling examples of "the risk of making polar value-judgments of good or bad" about speech communities in cross-cultural research as warned by Meier (1995, p. 353): Linguistic categorizations along politeness or formality continua are brought into EFL classrooms via textbooks, and language learners will wrongfully learn to categorize speech communities, consciously or unconsciously. Students in the control group could have come to learn that structures like can I/you, could I/you, or would you, for example, are universal linguistic politeness markers as they had been taught to use these to make "polite/formal requests." Therefore, the presence of would you in the

American request provided to them (i.e., “Would you please clean up after yourself? I don’t appreciate the kitchen left like that”) and the absence of a corresponding structure in the Malagasy request (i.e., “*Mba diovy leitsy io trano io fa maloto fa raha tonga eo i Neny dia bedy aho*”) could have triggered their judgment of American requests as “more polite” and Malagasy requests as “less polite.” Others, it seems, perceived the direct American request as a marker of “audacity” (meaning “arrogance” in the context of its use) and the indirect Malagasy request as a marker of “sympathy.” In light of these, the teaching of speech acts or language functions via undifferentiated politeness or formality continua or dichotomies viewed as an educational action seems *harmful* rather than useful. Indeed, value-judgment-based behaviors as possible teaching/learning outcomes like the above raise the question about the suitability of such tools as a means to assist language learners in understanding the target language community culture for the development of their communicative competence in that language, including appropriate comprehension of speech acts (Thomas, 1983). Instead, they appear to impede the attainment of intended educational goals.

Compared to the traditional treatment students, those in the cooperative consciousness-raising group scored significantly higher in both their cultural value/belief identification and language-culture connection abilities. This reveals that they were more able to exhibit their knowledge as required by the tasks at hand. Again, it could be that these students were able to retrieve and apply relevant existing knowledge to the contexts by utilizing knowledge-based strategies (Bialystok & Sharwood-Smith, 1985) because of their awareness of what they know (Bransford et al., 1986). The opportunities to actively

and collaboratively engage in in-depth analyses and explorations of input that they were provided during various activities could have enhanced their understanding and raised their knowledge awareness as results of knowledge construction or reconstruction (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973).

It follows from the above that the cooperative consciousness-raising technique has the potential to better enable students to relate linguistic features to underlying cultural values in Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors as compared to the traditional method of instruction being investigated. This ability can contribute to the development of their communicative competence, including the understanding that cultural factors inform the choice of linguistic strategies used in Malagasy and American English as related to the contexts in which they occur in the two communities (cf. Bardovi-Harlig, 1996; Meier, 1996; Thomas, 1983). As such, this teaching technique seems more effective in developing language learners' abilities to comprehend that situations or contexts are differentially perceived by members of the Malagasy and American English communities due to differences in their cultural values/beliefs. Also, it appears better able to help them to comprehend that the same strategy can be differentially interpreted in the two communities (Meier, 1996) because of the use of *different cultural frames of reference* (see Carbaugh, 1993). Such comprehension can alert learners to the possibility of communication breakdown or misinterpretation, or both, if linguistic strategies used in Malagasy requests are transferred into American English requests, or if Malagasy cultural frames of reference are utilized to interpret American English requestive behaviors, or vice versa.

Students' Requestive Behavior Production Abilities

Students' requestive behavior production abilities, or abilities to produce appropriate and varied American requestive behaviors, were measured by the combination of their abilities to provide appropriate requests in an empty slot in two open-ended DCTs with two various contexts in each and their abilities to vary the requests they provided. The results indicated that the mean score of the experimental group students ($M = 12.39$, $SD = 4.02$) on their abilities to produce both appropriate and varied requests in American English was significantly greater than that of those in the control group ($M = 8.87$, $SD = 3.31$, $p < .00$). The median scores were 12.50 and 9.25 for the former and latter groups, respectively. Separate t -test results indicated a significant difference between the mean scores of the former and the latter on their abilities to produce appropriate American English requests ($M_s = 9.90$ and 6.94 , $SD_s = 3.12$ and 2.46 , respectively). There was no significant difference between their request variation mean scores ($M_s = 3.14$ and 3.11 , $SD_s = 1.27$ and 1.19 , respectively, $p < .92$).

These findings indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising students performed better than the traditional method informants in their abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requests. Both groups varied their requests, suggesting that both seemed aware of the need to vary them depending on contextual factors. However, the latter group provided a greater number of inappropriate requests compared to the former group.

These findings were unexpected considering the following: (a) Students in the traditional group had received at least 70 more hours of English instruction compared to

those in the cooperative consciousness-raising group. Given the great English instruction time difference, one would expect the former group to perform better in this ability; (b) the traditional group students were exposed to intensive lesson reviews including “language functions” in the form of dialogue completion and DCTs. One would therefore expect them to provide more appropriate requests in view of reviews as reinforcement activities. Additionally, the dialogue completion and DCT activity formats imply that utterances or speech acts were to be provided in contexts. This suggests that at least the corrected answers are appropriate as related to the contexts in which they occur, implying that students would notice and consider connections between contexts and utterance appropriateness. Unlike the control group students, those in the experimental group had not dealt with such reviews; and (c) students in the control group were given language function exercises in the formal-informal and polite (and thus, vs. impolite) formats, which, one would expect, would have allowed them to choose which modals and expressions would be *appropriate* for which *context(s)*. More than that, in many instances, answers given for the same situations included more than a single structure as reflected in the following examples of polite and formal requests in the Student Notebook:

- “Could you do me a favour (sic)? Do you think you could lend me some money?”/ “Could you lend me £10, do you think?”
- “Can I have the salt, please?”/ “Could I have the salt, please?”/ “Would you like passing the salt?”

In light of the above, it is reasonable to make the following arguments. First, it

appears that years of English instruction in the traditional classroom resulted in little learning, at best, and no learning, at worst, suggesting a troubling waste of time. This can be a result of mere parroting present in this classroom, as mentioned above. More often than not, rote learning causes little or no understanding, and little or no retention because of the absence of knowledge construction or reconstruction on the part of learners (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). In fact, the English teacher reports in the Teacher Questionnaire indicate moderate student understanding, absence of retention, and student forgetfulness in her traditional classroom (see the section on attitude).

Second, it appears that lesson reviews can be unproductive particularly when they consist of reinforcing rote memorization. This is consistent with students' failure to consider the relationship between request appropriateness and contextual factors as indicated by their scores. This is related to the above argument in that mere memorization equates student passive reception of information imparted by their teacher and does not enable students to produce on their own (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973).

Third, it seems that providing students with appropriate multiple linguistic structures which can be used in the same situation does not necessarily translate into their ability to produce appropriate speech acts in the target language. Nor does the use of "polite-impolite" or formal-informal continua or dichotomies help them develop this ability. This argument supports the claim that "simple exposure to sociolinguistically appropriate input is unlikely to be sufficient" for the acquisition of a target language (Schmidt, 1993, p. 83). Likewise, "simple exposure to the language of community Y does not ensure that the language will be acquired." The opportunity to use it for

meaningful communication is “a basic condition for second of foreign language learning” (Gaies, 1985, p. 7), an opportunity that the control group students did not have in their traditional English class. Their scores and responses presented above rather indicate their tendency to simply relate certain linguistic terms or devices with politeness, formality, or both, via mere memorization.

On the contrary, students in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique exhibited a greater ability to produce both appropriate and varied American English requests. This suggests that this technique is more effective in helping language learners in developing this ability, perhaps due to the positive outcomes obtained from the active intellectual engagement of students in the various exploration activities required by this teaching technique. Indeed, active intellectual involvement in the learning process promotes understanding, production, and creativity (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). This is especially the case when students engage in collaborative exploration (Johnson et al., 1993; Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). This also appears to be the case in language classrooms: Collaborative group activities enable language learners to actively and meaningfully use the target language and can facilitate its acquisition (Cohen, 1986; Ellis, 1992; Gaies, 1985). Such activities can also accelerate the acquisition of the target language by lower level language learners. This is so because language learning peer involvement allows “an exposure to language that is tailored to individual learners’ needs and abilities” (Gaies, 1985). This appears to be the case with the cooperative consciousness-raising technique in this study. Indeed, both students and their teacher indicated that

collaborative student exploration helps them exchange explanations and ideas, understand, and retain information better (see the section on attitude).

Taken together, the results on students' communicative abilities in American requestive behaviors indicate that those in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique performed significantly better than those in the traditional method of instruction. These include both their comprehension and production abilities, including their abilities to identify and describe linguistic differences between Malagasy and American English requestive behaviors, to relate them to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities, and to produce appropriate and varied American English requests. Therefore, compared to the traditional teaching approach, the cooperative consciousness-raising technique appears more capable of contributing to the development of their communicative competence, namely, their comprehension of and performance in American English requestive behaviors. This effectiveness appears to be related to students' active involvement in explorative activities, collaboration, and mutual teaching. On the other hand, the traditional method of English instruction seems less effective. This ineffectiveness appears to be related to its emphasis on rote memorization, resulting in little or no student understanding and information retention. Also, it appears that its use of polite-impolite or formal-informal continua, dichotomies, or both yielded harmful outcomes such as value-judgment formation related to students' own and the target language communities, indicating that such techniques can produce unintended and unwanted learning outcomes.

The analyses and interpretations presented thus far were primarily based on the results of student performances on the English Achievement Test administered to them at the end of the experimentation. It is important to consider the reliability and validity of this measurement tool before examining the data obtained from the second measurement instrument, that is, informants' attitudes toward the two approaches being investigated.

Validation of the English Achievement Test

A test needs to be valid in order for the results obtained from it to be valid (Cohen, 1994; Hughes, 1989/1993). In addition, an unreliable test cannot be valid. This section briefly discusses the reliability and validity of the English Achievement Test, based on intra- and inter-rater reliability coefficient computations and a test split-half procedure.

Intra- and Inter-Rater Reliability

Pearson product moment correlation coefficient computations were conducted in order to measure the intra- and inter-rater reliability. As shown in Table 4, results indicate that the intra-rater reliability coefficients range from .86 to .98, and the inter-rater reliability coefficients range from .90 to .96. These coefficients are high, especially considering that no test item was constructed to yield "only one easily recognised (sic) answer" (Hughes, 1989/1993, p. 34), as is the case with "multiple-choice" items, for example. These results indicate acceptable consistency within and across raters.

Test Split-Half Reliability

A computation of Pearson product moment correlation coefficient between odd- and even-numbered items in the English Achievement Test yielded an r of .74. This

reliability coefficient indicates that the test has great internal consistency, that is, the test is reliable given that a coefficient of “.70 is good” for classroom testing purposes (Cohen, 1994, p. 36).

Validity of Discourse Completion Tasks

Discourse Completion Tasks or DCTs can “serve as testing tools” to establish learners’ level of pragmatic competence” (Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985, p. 24) or their knowledge of grammatical structures and “sociocultural rules of appropriateness of language use” (p. 16). As such, they are valid tools for the assessment of this ability. The English Achievement Test in this research used DCTs to assess learners’ pragmatic competence in American English requestive behaviors in both the Identification and Production sections. Therefore, it is valid.

In sum the high intra- and inter-rater reliability coefficients, the good test split-half reliability coefficient, and the validity of DCTs in assessing language learners’ pragmatic competence indicate that the English Achievement Test employed in this research is reliable and valid. Therefore, the results obtained can be viewed as reliable and valid measures of the informants’ levels of pragmatic competence in American English requestive behaviors.

Teaching Approaches and Attitudes

As indicated above, the second tool utilized in this research to investigate the (in)effectiveness of the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional method of English instruction being studied consists of informants’ attitudes toward the two approaches. This section contains analyses and interpretations of quantitative and

qualitative attitude data of learners and the teacher of English participating in the study, with data obtained from the Student Questionnaire and Teacher Questionnaire administered at the end of the experimentation. They were to answer the following fourth and fifth research questions in Study One:

4. What are English students' attitudes toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?

5. What is the English teacher's attitude toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?

In the following paragraphs, students' attitudes are analyzed and interpreted first, using a blend of the quantitative and qualitative data. Then, the English teacher's attitude is examined utilizing the same blend of data.

Students' Attitudes

To repeat, students' attitudes toward the two approaches being investigated were measured by two types of data: (a) quantitative data obtained from 18 experimental group students' ratings of 14 items in the Student Questionnaire and from the English teacher's ratings of the 15 items in the Teacher Questionnaire Students and Learning section and (b) qualitative data obtained from students' and teacher's justifications/explanations of their ratings. Students' ratings of the item "liking of group work" in the Student Questionnaire were dropped from the quantitative data analyses as 38.88% ($n = 7$) of the respondents reported lack of previous group work experience in their regular (traditional) English class.

The statistical analysis results of students' attitudes toward the two approaches obtained from their questionnaire item ratings displayed in Table 5 reveal that the overall mean score of the cooperative consciousness-raising technique is significantly greater than that of the traditional method. This suggests a significantly more favorable student attitude toward the former compared to the latter. Likewise, the significant between mean score differences for each individual questionnaire item reveal a more favorable student attitude toward the former regarding each item compared to the latter as displayed in Table 5. Similar student attitude differences are indicated by the descriptive statistics analysis results of their teacher's ratings exhibited in Table 6. Both students' and their teacher's rating explanations/justifications provide valuable information related to these attitude differences.

In the following paragraphs, analyses and interpretations of both quantitative and qualitative data obtained from students and their English teacher are provided for each questionnaire item. English translations of examples of justifications/explanations are provided between parentheses in order to assist in the comprehension of argumentations. Also, justifications/explanations that require thorough analyses of Malagasy grammatical features are reported as is for readers knowledgeable in the Malagasy language to verify the accuracy of explanations.

Amount of volunteer participation. For the amount of volunteer participation item, the less favorable student attitude toward the English traditional method seems to be related to what might be called *exclusive participation practice*. The teacher's rating and justification/explanation will be analyzed first to explicate this interpretation.

As indicated by the English teacher's rating (i.e., 1.00), there is little voluntary student participation in the traditional approach class. Her justification/explanation reveals that this little participation relates *exclusively* to those who know or those who are able, suggesting that this approach is *exclusive* with regard student participation. A close examination of her statement as is will help elucidate this point.

The teacher's answer in Malagasy is "*izay mahay ihany no mandray anjara*" (or "It's only those who know/are able that participate"). Syntactically speaking, this sentence has a "marked construction" (Rajaona, 1972, p. 61) subject-verb word order pattern obtained from an "unmarked construction" verb-subject word order pattern with a "defined predicate" (p. 76). As such, the statement has an "emphatic value" giving prominence to the grammatical subject (Rajaona, 1972, p. 61) and indicates an exclusive "identity rapport" between the predicate and the grammatical subject through the use of the particle no, the particle of inverted sentence structure with a defined predicate. That is, the grammatical subject those who know/are able has been identified as those that participate *excluding* any other possibility. This suggests that the English teacher's statement can be reasonably interpreted as follows: Participation in the traditional class places an emphasis on those who know/are able, specifically targets them, and excludes any other students not belonging to this category.

Students' responses support this interpretation. As reported above, students indicated minimal student participation, which can be connected to the *little* student voluntary participation indicated by the English teacher's rating: Only the identified few able students participate. Likewise, the student's explanation/justification "when I know

the answer, I raise my hand” reveals that she participates *only* when she knows the answer. Similarly, students who “don’t understand English at all,” that is, the not-able, indicated *absence* of participation. The same absence of participation is caused by students’ reluctance to participate because they “don’t feel like it,” indicating lack of motivation, indifference, frustration, or a combination of those. Those who “don’t know much,” that is, the not-that-able, reported *little* participation. Still connected to this, students indicated “frequent designation” by their teacher. Although it is unclear as for *who* and *when* the teacher designates, this indicates that *volunteer* participation is infrequent probably because of a small number of students who know/are able. It is important to note that those who indicated *a lot* of volunteer participation related their rating to motivation to learn English as a foreign language rather than to the teaching approach.

It follows from the above that the traditional method in this study appears to be an exclusive participation teaching practice from both students’ and their teacher’s perspectives. It appears to exclusively target able students and emphasize their participation, leaving those not in that group silent, almost silent, de-motivated, indifferent, or frustrated, because feeling that one does not belong results in “negative psychological consequences” (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 11). This exclusive feature appears to be the reason for the more negative student attitude towards this method of instruction as regards volunteer participation in comparison to the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. These findings reveal that students would participate less in the learning process when they lack understanding of the teaching approach, feel excluded, notice

teacher control of student participation, feel an inaccessibility to the subject matter, or a combination of two or more of those.

Similar results were found in available research. Johnson et al. (1993), for example, claim that, in traditional whole group classrooms, there is a tendency to classify students: "There is a constant inspection to 'weed out' any defective students. Teachers classify and sort students into categories under the assumption that ability is fixed and unaffected by effort and education" (p. 10:2). Also, Ornstein (1995) contends that, in whole-group classrooms, "passive students usually are not heard from or do not receive necessary attention." This can negatively impact their motivation to learn (p. 104). Likewise, Gaies (1985) states that in a traditional English classroom, the majority of the instruction time and talk is dominated and controlled by the teacher, leaving the majority of learners passive: "Learners spend a great deal of time listening to their teacher, and to a much lesser extent to other learners," a language classroom environment that usually results in learners' frustration and de-motivation (p. 10). Yet, student motivational and affective attributes constitute major determinants of students' effort level and perseverance: Students invest less efforts and persevere less in their learning when they are less motivated to learn as the results of Wang, Haertel, and Walberg's (1994) research synthesis on motivating teaching practices indicate.

Different results were obtained concerning students' voluntary participation in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique. The higher mean of 3.17 and median of 3.00 indicate a great amount of student volunteer participation. Cognitive, affective, and general categories emerged from explanations/justifications provided by students.

This high amount of voluntary participation is reported as caused by a noticeable and unexpected immediate improvement in English knowledge, and intellectual challenge within the cognitive category. This suggests that students appreciate being intellectually challenged and respond by intellectually engaging themselves in activities even more: “Even though I had problems, I made a lot of efforts to do what I could so that I can improve my knowledge,” reports one of them. Such challenge and increased intellectual engagement enhance their intellectual growth, still as the data indicate. These reveal that the growth is concrete and immediate and leads to even greater participation. This is true even when they have problems. It appears, then, that students would voluntarily and intensively engage in the learning process whatever problems they may encounter when they are intellectually challenged, realize or feel that their engagement will translate into concrete outcomes, or both. That is, they are intrinsically motivated to actively participate in the learning process for knowledge growth.

Students’ justifications/explanations also indicate that the higher amount of their participation as related to the cooperative consciousness-raising technique is connected to their appreciation of the technique, and to motivation and interest enhancement within the affective category. These results indicate that when students appreciate the teaching/learning technique, they tend to voluntarily participate in the learning process. They would work as hard as they could and try to overcome possible problems or challenges in order to improve their knowledge.

Further, the greater amount of student voluntary participation related to the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is connected to technique transferability,

disciplined learning, participation, and language skill use inducement within the general category. These findings reveal that students would participate more when they feel that activity techniques utilized are meaningful and useful to them, both for the completion of the tasks at hand and outside the classroom. This indicates that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice addresses students' needs by providing them with tools they might need for that purpose. In such a case, it appears that they participate more in activities possibly to have greater mastery of the techniques for increased or maximum benefits.

The English teacher's explanation/justification of her higher rating of 3.00 on the amount of students' voluntary participation in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique is consistent with those of these findings: "Each student participates even though they had challenges with speaking." This indicates students will persevere in their learning when they are given the opportunity to actively engage in the learning process despite possible challenges that they may encounter during the process. The cooperative consciousness-raising practice appears to give them this opportunity, leading to their more positive attitude toward it.

Brophy (1987) reports similar findings from his research synthesis on motivating teaching strategies. His results indicate that students are willing to invest efforts into tasks that yield valued outcomes. This is so because "a student who achieves a certain knowledge through free investigation and spontaneous effort...will have acquired a methodology that can serve him [or her] for the rest of his [or her] life, which will stimulate his [or her] curiosity without the risk of exhausting it" (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973,

p. 90). Indeed, individuals find interest and happiness in “what they can do successfully, in what they approach with confidence and engage in with a sense of accomplishment” (Dewey, 1913/1941/1975, p. 36). They search for more complicated activities that require “longer and longer periods of time for their execution.” The longer the execution period lasts, the more decisive the meaning and the fuller the worth of interventions become, the more prolonged interest or happiness is, and the more expanded and progressive the growth is (p. 38).

The findings also indicate that students participate more in the learning process when they know what is expected from them. It appears that, to attain the goals set for activities, they have to fulfill their responsibilities. Therefore, their participation is required. In other words, the cooperative consciousness-raising practice appears to induce student participation via disciplined learning. As such, it promotes language skill use and positively affects student affective attributes toward learning and the teaching practice itself.

The literature offers similar findings. Piaget (1948/1972/1973) claims that the “person” part of an individual “freely accepts some kind of discipline, or contributes to its creation, by voluntarily subjecting himself [or herself] to a system of mutual ‘norms’ that subordinate his [or her] liberty in respect to that of others.” This is because personality is a form of “intellectual and moral conscience” and “is opposite to anarchy” (pp. 90-91). When learners know what is expected from them and the purpose of their actions, “the result become a conscious aim, a guiding and inspiring purpose.” Their actions become purposeful and they turn their “energy from blind, or thoughtless,

struggle into reflective judgment.” This leads to increased persistence to discover the best means for approaching the situation, which in turn increases the value of the outcome and further enhances their desire to participate in the learning process (Dewey, 1913/1941/1975, pp. 52-53). Also, learners’ involvement in their own and their peers’ learning conveys that they are valuable and valued information sources, develops their sense of responsibility, positively affects their affective and social attributes, and enhances their motivation to engage in the learning process (Gaies, 1985).

Further, data indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice offers a safe or low-anxiety learning environment as indicated by the following student’s explanation: “It was like I always felt like speaking and showing my lack of knowledge as well.” This clearly indicates that lack of knowledge or making mistakes is acceptable in this environment. More than that, it seems that students intentionally show their lack of knowledge possibly to allow their peers to notice their mistakes and offer correction or suggestion from which they can benefit. Thus, students appear to appreciate the cooperative consciousness-raising practice because the safety that it offers enables them to participate in the learning process regardless of their knowledge levels or weaknesses.

This concurs with claims in the literature. Gaies (1985), for example, contends that peer involvement in the language learning process stimulates communication in the target language. Because “communicating with peers is a natural—more ‘authentic’—setting for use of language,” students are more willing to express themselves to their peers than to an entire classroom led by the dominating figure of a teacher (p. 26) as “the arbiter of acceptable student performance” (Long, 1990, p. 309). Low-anxiety learning

environments support learners' efforts to learn and allow them to "feel comfortable taking intellectual risks without fear of being criticized for making mistakes" (Brophy, 1987, p. 42). In communicative language classrooms, like in any learning situation that is founded on students' active knowledge construction, "the production of errors and breakdowns in communication" are "an inevitable consequence of learners' attempts to use the language" (Gaies, 1985, p. 28). Cooperative language teaching and learning practices support these attempts because of their low-anxiety characteristic, among others: Learners are more willing to take the risk to participate regardless of their language knowledge, skill, or both (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997) and to use the target language for "genuine communication," a condition that fosters self-concept and self-confidence, and promotes language learning (Gaies, 1985, p. 4). As such, these kinds of teaching and learning practices are *inclusive*: When learners feel that they are included, they will feel valued and trusted regardless of their abilities and weaknesses, and strive for better behaviors and achievements to indicate that they are worth the value and trust placed or built on them.

Altogether, these results indicate that students have more positive attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, persevere and make an effort to voluntarily participate more in the learning process because it induces their participation. Also, it enhances their motivation and interest to participate and learn because of its intellectually- and psychologically-safe environment. Further, it challenges them intellectually and helps them learn. Additionally, it offers them strategies that they need

both inside and outside the classroom. Moreover, it is well-designed, engages them in disciplined learning, and promotes their active involvement.

Liking of approach. As displayed in Table 5, statistical results obtained from students' ratings of the liking of approach item yielded a mean of 1.11 and a median of 2.00 for the traditional method of English instruction. The cooperative consciousness-raising method received a mean of 3.72 and a median of 4.00. Results of *t* test indicated a significant difference between these means. These reveal that students like the cooperative consciousness-raising more than the traditional method being investigated.

Students' explanations/justifications of the lower scores that they attributed to the traditional method as regards this item include cognitive, affective, and general categories.

The cognitive category concerns meaninglessness related to repetitive teaching of lessons/topics and little knowledge gain. These findings indicate that students' attitudes towards the traditional method are more negative because it fails to enable them gain needed knowledge. This reveals that learners do not appreciate teaching that does not achieve its basic purpose, which is, to help them learn. Indeed, the foundation of teaching is to assist students in the learning process. A reason for the failure of the traditional method in this assistance appears to be repetitions of the same lessons, topics, or both, previously taught, unchanged or unaltered. To students, such repetitions are purposeless and meaningless because they fail to help them grow. As such, they engender a monotonous or wearisome classroom atmosphere. Certainly, such atmospheres will exhaust even the most motivated learners in the long run and negatively impact their

attitudes toward the teaching method being utilized. This seems to be the case regarding students' attitudes toward the traditional teaching method under investigation. Indeed, within the affective category, data indicate students' apathy toward this method. To them, it is no method or bad method dealing with mere bulky lessons to be remembered by heart. These suggest that students do not appreciate performing the role of lesson rote-memorizers. They need more for them to appreciate and find a teaching/learning practice motivating and worth being called a *teaching method*.

Similar claims are contained in the literature. Brophy (1987), for example, finds that students are unlikely to be motivated if they are expected to engage in meaningless learning such as repetitive practice or meaningless memorization. Likewise, Dewey (1913/1941/1975) contends that monotonous activity leads to the cessation of the attendance of happiness to its performance, and "monotony means that growth, development, have ceased." Once this happens, interest and effort investment in learning vanish (p. 36). Indeed, "all students enjoy variety in the classroom." Thus, the monotonous "whole-class, teacher-led work" in traditional classrooms can render "even the most inspirational of teachers...a numbing force in the classroom" (Gaies, 1985, p. 26).

Within the general category, students' justifications/explanations reveal that their more negative attitudes toward the traditional method are related to the lack of or insufficient speaking skill use, to student time exclusion, and to unclear explanations. These findings indicate that this method of instruction is teacher-centered: The teacher, as the classroom manager, sets all instructional standards. All or most of the talk and

time belong to the teacher, leaving little or no room for students' interactions and active use the target language, which students do not appreciate. Decisions about what, how, and how much to explain appear to be based on what the teacher believes or thinks to be students' needs, leaving students' actual needs to understand unattended, which students seem to deplore and controvert.

Similar observations are reported in the literature. Darling-Hammond, (1993), Haberman (1997), Johnson et al. (1993) and Kamii, (1996) claim that instructional techniques that require students to passively memorize imparted by the teacher fail to address students' needs. They target hypothetical average students and leave the actual learning needs of the majority of students unaddressed. In whole-group language classrooms, student-student and teacher-student interactions rarely occur during the learning process, if at all. "Teachers do about two-thirds of the talking in the classroom," leaving an insignificant proportion of speaking time for each individual (Gaies, 1985, pp. 9-10). Further, given that "no teacher can simultaneously monitor the performance of each of 30 or more students in unison work," higher-ability students will lose interest in activities whereas lower-ability learners will encounter difficulties to follow (p. 27). Thus, only the actual needs of a few learners can be met, at best, and no learner's actual need is addressed, at worst. In such a case, little or no learning occurs, resulting in student apathy (Coleman, 1989). Indeed, when one's potential to contribute to learning is undervalued, one becomes demoralized (Gaies, 1985).

Like students, the English teacher gave a lower rating on the liking of approach item for the traditional method. Her explanations/justification, that is, "students that

know English like it, but those that don't know (English) don't," however, indicates that students' knowledge level is the determinant of their appreciation or lack of appreciation of her teaching method. That is, to her, the source or cause of students' negative or positive attitudes toward her method is students' cognitive states or dispositions rather than the method's characteristics.

These results reveal that the English teacher and students have different views, at best, and conflicting ones, at worse, regarding the degree of students' liking of the traditional approach. This suggests that the teacher and students appear to blame each other for the lack of student learning.

Similar observations are reported in the literature. Coleman (1989), for example, contends that, in large group classrooms, teachers tend to think that students lack appreciation of what they do for them. Conversely, students tend to think that teachers lack competence and understanding. This is caused by the impossibility for a single teacher to attend to each student's needs and offer assistance in learning due to the large size of the class population (Coleman, 1989).

Unlike the traditional method, the cooperative consciousness-raising method received a high mean of 3.72 and a similar high median of 4 from students. These results indicate a close-to-maximum level of students' appreciation of the approach with the maximum score of appreciation for about 50% of them. Students' explanations/justifications indicate that this high appreciation is connected to cognitive, affective, and general categories.

Data indicate that, within the cognitive category, the high student appreciation of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is connected to sufficient understanding, speaking skill improvement, and gains of useful and multifaceted knowledge. This reveals that this practice is able to facilitate student learning: When students understand, they can gain knowledge. When they gain knowledge, they realize that the teaching method is purposeful and they can benefit from it. In turn, this will positively affect their affective states toward it. Also, the results reveal that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is able to assist students in gaining more than knowledge in the English language. Additionally, to students, the knowledge they have gained is useful. Further, it enables them to improve their language skills. All of these benefits are probably products of students' active engagement in the learning process. Indeed, when students are involved in learning, they manipulate input, try to make sense of what it means, and put pieces into relationships. This requires activation of higher-order thought processes, leading to in-depth analyses. This will result in deep understanding of the task at hand and manipulation strategies as well. That is, the knowledge gained is multifaceted. This is further enhanced by the collaborative input manipulation given that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice required group work and group product. Further, while working in their groups, students were required to use the target language as the means of communication. Given that reciprocal understanding is necessary to attain the group goal, each group member will have to make efforts in the way they speak so that their peers can understand what they intend to convey. This will necessitate group agreement regarding ways of expressing oneself, as well as adjustment of the language to others'

language knowledge levels. Ultimately, by striving for better communication and interaction, those who speak will improve their speaking skills, so will those who listen. Most importantly, during the whole activity time, every student is engaged, leaving no room for inoperative minds, which can sustain attention and interest.

Similar findings are offered in the literature. Piaget (1948/1972/1973), for example, claims that when students are actively engaged in their learning, they have deep understanding of the object of knowledge. This is because in this process, they are engaged in knowledge construction or re-construction via discovery or re-discovery. That is, they invent. When they discover or re-discover, they understand. Once they understand, they know, that is, they gain knowledge. To arrive to this point, they will have to engage in “real (experimental) activities carried out in common, so that logical intelligence may be elaborated through action and social exchanges” (p. 48) given that “the social or educational factor constitutes a condition of development” (p. 52). In other words, when students actively engage in collaborative learning, they gain knowledge of the object of learning, experimental strategies, knowledge construction tools, and social skills, among others. Such active engagement fosters their motivation to learn because learning is thoughtful and meaningful, and provides them with opportunities to interact with others (Brophy, 1987; Gaies, 1985), a social and educational experience that fosters their logical and ethical development and prepares them for adaptation to their social milieu (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). In second/foreign language classrooms, such opportunities further enable learners to engage in “genuine communication in the [target]

language,” a necessary ingredient for its acquisition. Also, peer correction of mistakes will accelerate language skill development (Gaies, 1985, p. 4).

Within the affective category, data reveal that students’ high appreciation of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is related to its characteristics, that is, enjoyable, interesting, good, and self-confidence enhancing. These results indicate that, to students, this practice is *good* because it is able to make learning enjoyable and foster interest. Related to the above interpretations, it can be that, by noticing their skill improvement, knowledge gain, or both, as outcomes of their active engagement in their learning, students experienced actual enjoyment resulting from personal satisfaction. Attainment of goals after hard work will always bring a sense of achievement and self-worth, and a feeling of exhilaration. It could be that students experienced joy in the challenging experience of learning as they were noticing their growth at each step or sequence of the learning process. This joy would make it easier for them to proceed further and attain the activity goal as insecurities or fear to fail were removed or lessened when they realized that they could understand and learn. Indeed, it is a common Malagasy belief that executing a challenging activity with joy lessens the weight or burden of the challenges inherent in its execution as conveyed in the following Malagasy proverb: “*(Hard) Work that is performed with accompaniment songs is completed as though it was not being executed.*” It is certainly this ability to learn and understand, and the power of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to simultaneously make challenging learning experiences enjoyable, enhance students’ self-confidence, and foster

their interest that are expressed in the following students' explanations and their teacher's, respectively:

"I feel that there were many things that I hadn't known [before], but they have become clearer now."

"It [i.e., the practice] is enjoyable to me."

"It has helped me a lot in daring to speak and give my opinions."

"Even though they don't know how to speak [English], it was noticed that they like the approach, and it interests them very much."

The literature reports similar claims. Tauber, Mester, and Buckwald (1993), for example, contend that before students can commit themselves to something or value it, their attention must be attracted and held, first. A method to cultivate their attention is "offering the material in an interesting and captivating way" (p. 21). Entertainment of sorts can be very powerful in this effect. Indeed, it can educate students that "learning and participating in class can be exciting, fun, and safe" (p. 25). Cooperative learning practices have been found able to offer this kind of nurturing environment that promotes learning. Smith (1987), for example, reports students' views of their cooperative learning class. A student's observation is as follows: "I have found that a class conducted in such a way is more productive and enjoyable and less tense, less tedious, than the general classroom. The students seem to excel in such an atmosphere, approaching each task positively and eagerly." Other students reported that the practice gives them "more self-confidence" (p. 666).

Within the general category, informants' justifications/explanations of the higher ratings of their liking of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice include opportunities to practice speaking and writing skills, and to participate well. These results reveal that students really appreciate being given the opportunity to take part in the learning process in a meaningful way. When they are given this opportunity and when they can perform what they are asked to, they are willing to confront challenges as indicated by the following student's report: "I could participate well in the learning even though it was obviously difficult." By actively taking part in the learning process, students assume active roles. It appears that they are willing to take the responsibility of active participants. In so doing, they accept the challenges inherent in this status. In other words, it appears that students like having responsibility for their learning even if fulfilling such responsibility is demanding. It could also be that they are aware that their group members rely on them regarding their roles within the group. To be considered *good and accountable group members*, they will have to do their best to fulfill their responsibility for the whole group to succeed.

Additionally, students appear to appreciate using the target language as the medium of communication to master or learn the content of lessons during activities. That is, they seem to like using the target language in a *meaningful* way, during genuine instructional interactions. This is connected to the English teacher's explanation reported above and the maximum score of 4.00 for students' liking of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice.

Similar findings are contained in the literature on cooperative learning techniques. Smith (1987), for example, reports that his students mentioned that cooperative learning teaches responsibility as revealed by the following statements: “Your classmates, not just your teacher, will hold you accountable for your studies outside of class.” “Knowing that if you don’t do your best you’ll let down the members of your group gives you enough drive to do the best you possibly can” (p. 666). Likewise, Gaies (1985) states that peer involvement in the second/foreign language classroom, a type of cooperative learning, “fosters students’ reliance on themselves and other learners.” This reliance requires students to take responsibility for their own and peers’ learning. Also, cooperative learning activities stimulate communication in the target language. Using the language as a tool for content learning greatly assists in the target language acquisition and enhances learners’ motivation (p. 28).

Liking of group work. To repeat, there were no quantitative data obtained from students’ ratings of their liking of group work item as 38.88% ($n = 7$) of them reported absence of group work experience in their traditional method class. Therefore, the qualitative data related to this method and discussed in this section were obtained from informants who had prior experience in group work in this method of instruction. Three categories emerged from the data: cognitive, affective, and social.

Data within the cognitive category include unclear expectations, lack of feedback, and idea complementarity. The last element will be discussed last in this section. The first two elements reveal that group work in the traditional method of instruction reflects chaotic situations as indicated by the following student’s explanation: “Each group does

whatever it wants.” It can be that students do not receive instructional orientations or guidelines for the groups to orient and organize their work. In such a case, the group is likely to fail and students are likely to be confused or even frustrated as they are unable to perceive the rationale of the group assignment. Confusion, frustration, or both, is conveyed in the apathy for group work reported by informants. If a purpose of group work is collaboration and cooperation, having students sit together becomes meaningless if there is no group and work organization because they cannot labor and operate together without such an organization. Therefore, each individual student would work for himself/herself as guided by his/her own guidelines, if any, while being spatially proximate to others. That is, students would be spatially connected but mentally and socially disconnected. Further, in such conditions, motivated or high-achieving students would do all or the majority of the work, and non-motivated or low-achieving students would rely on work done by the former. The following explanation offered by the English teacher confirms this argument: “Some students just shelter themselves in groups and don’t work.” That is, some students use their group as a means of protection from work efforts, and take advantage of the work produced, others’ endeavors, or both.

Similar claims have been made concerning group work in traditional classrooms or ill-organized group work. Slavin (1990) and Johnson et al. (1993), for example, contend that group goals that are vague do not allow group members to work together and help each other to attain them. Related to this, if a group’s assignment demands a high level of competence, students with lower level of competence would be ignored by higher-level group members. This situation can allow for the “free-rider” effect (Slavin,

1990, p. 16), as the latter individuals would do most of the work because the former appear lacking of accountability. This can have detrimental effects on groups' achievements due to hard-working members' motivation losses (Johnson et al., 1993).

Despite the above negative sides of the traditional group work, data indicate that some students more or less like it because it gives them some freedom to practice the language. This reveals that students would really like to be part of the learning process and be given time. It appears that, to them, group time is a relief. This is consistent with students' appreciation of the opportunity for collaboration in the social category.

The literature offers similar claims. Gaies (1985), for example, argues that, "the opportunity to interact with peers can relieve the monotony" of traditional whole-group instruction dominated by teacher lectures. The description of traditional classrooms and views of what group work can offer provided by Smith's (1987) students also reflect these arguments: "I thought it was going to be the same old story, sitting at a desk day after day, listening to the teacher lecture." Group collaboration "gives you a chance to discuss what you feel to a greater extent" (p. 666).

For the cooperative consciousness-raising, students allotted high scores of 3.00 to 4.00 to their liking of group work, except one who assigned a score of 2.00.

Explanations/justifications provided within the cognitive category included clear expectations, useful and multifaceted knowledge gains, and novel learning strategies.

A great majority of students indicated that the complementariness of group members' ideas helped them gain more knowledge and expand their knowledge. Sharing knowledge and ideas, and joint exploration were also reported. The English teacher

identified different group roles as an explanation of her high rating of students' liking of group work in the cooperative learning. All of these elements apply to the group work utilized in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique in this study. Group roles used included starter and mover, encourager, checker of understanding, recorder, and summarizer to insure reciprocal interdependence. Assignments had characteristics of complex instruction as there was not one standard answer required from all groups, nor was there any requirement for a standard format for materials and ways of presenting group work. Also, they consisted of explorations of cultural values and languages. All of these appear to contribute to students' knowledge gains as results of genuine collaboration and cooperation. It can be that students had clear ideas about what was expected from them both as individuals and as a group. As such, each group member had to fulfill his/her group responsibility to be accountable and well-viewed by others. The group as a whole had to coordinate its work to attain expected goals, and do the best it could to produce at least decent product to present to the whole class. The precise instructions and suggested strategies provided to them could also have helped the groups proceed and progress in a steadier and more efficient manner. This would result in better products including knowledge gains.

Similar findings are contained in the literature. For example, Smith (1987) reports the following students' reactions to cooperative learning: "Working in groups is beneficial because you are getting input from other students who may have gotten their information from a different source." It "not only allows me to share something that no one else may have thought of, but I also get two, or three times as many ideas as I started

out with on my own” (p. 666). Also, the findings support claims by Johnson et al. (1993): Crucial elements to be structured for cooperative groups’ effectiveness include the following: Positive interdependence, that is, “each person’s efforts benefit not only him- or herself, but all other group members as well”; Individual and group accountability, that is, “each member must be accountable for contributing his/her share of the work,” and “the group must be accountable for achieving its goals”; Promotive interaction, that is, students need to genuinely cooperate so that “cooperative learning groups are both an academic support system...and a personal support system”; And teaching students the required interpersonal and group skills to enable them to effectively engage in group interactions (p. 1:7). All of these elements were structured in the cooperative consciousness-raising group activities in this study.

Another explanation/justification offered by students as for their high rating of group work in the cooperative consciousness-raising class is the presence of novelty, including novel techniques of learning/working. This is consistent with the literature on motivation. Brophy (1987), for example, argues that incorporation of novelty in activities can result in greater student motivation to engage in the learning process because of the interest it induces in students. Greater involvement in the learning process will certainly result in greater learning.

Students also mentioned presence of feedback as an explanation/justification of their ratings. This reveals that feedback exists during group activities and students appreciate receiving it. The student’s statement (i.e., “our mistakes are corrected in groups”) indicates that group members correct each other’s mistakes. That is, mistakes

are corrected at the times of their occurrence, which means that they receive immediate attention. This can greatly enhance learning because, in a sense, corrections take place within a specific learning context. As such, they are more informative and meaningful as opposed to delayed ones because students receive them at a time they need them most.

Similar claims are found in the literature. Gaies (1985), for example, notes that, “peer correction techniques are an efficient way of providing more immediate feedback, which one teacher cannot provide to many students simultaneously.” Students who receive the feedback can learn a great deal because they do so at the first opportunity available, at a moment their motivation is highest. So can those who provide the feedback (p. 50).

Within the affective category, data provided by both students and their teacher include enjoyable, motivating, and interest inducing technique as regards group work in the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. These characteristics indicate positive attitudes toward learning groups in this teaching technique. They can be related to the cognitive gains discussed above and social elements presented below. That is, it can be that students really appreciated their active involvement in the learning process as it enabled them to gain multifaceted knowledge. This could have enhanced their motivation and desire to learn more and captivated them as they enjoyed their learning experiences.

The literature reports similar findings. For example, one of Smith’s (1987) observation concerns the power of cooperative learning group work to induce motivation and interest: “Students with a lack of motivation or interest, who become easily bored

with class assignments, seem to find this a refreshing new way to learn” (p. 666).

Likewise, cooperative learning practices have been found very effective in positively impacting students’ affective attributes (see e.g., Gaies, 1985; Johnson et al., 1993; Slavin, 1995).

Within the social category, students indicated the following as explanations/justification of their group work ratings related to the cooperative consciousness-raising practice: collaborative teaching, sharing, talk opportunity, social skill use and improvement, and frustration. The last element will be discussed in length later in this section.

These findings reveal that students enjoy teaching what they know to their peers and learning what they peers know. It can be that they share the same language, learning needs, or interest, or know what they or their peers’ needs and interests are better than the teacher, for example. As such, their teaching is likely to better suit their needs. Further, because they belong to the same age group, it is likely that they have a common language, or at least, they understand each other’s language. This can greatly facilitate their mutual teaching. Also, their role relationships, that is, relationships between equals, can lessen or even remove their fear or embarrassment to communicate their problems or opinions. It is certainly easier and more secure to interact with individuals of the same status as one than with others of a higher status such as teachers. In addition, by sharing what they know with their peers, they can feel the pleasure of giving a hand to each other. Indeed, adolescents are usually group-oriented and would help each other. Last, even

though group activities primarily concern academics, they can talk about other non-academic matters, suggesting that group activity enables them to socialize.

The literature provides similar findings. Adolescents develop ethical beliefs about care for other individuals. They develop views of “actions as good if the actions respond to or take account of others’ needs.” They believe in and are convinced of the importance of reconciling possible impacts of their actions on others and themselves. They are also more likely to feel a sense of guilt if they do nothing and something wrong (Seifert & Hoffnung, 1994, p. 536). Transposed into classroom contexts, these developmental characteristics of adolescents match the above findings. Also, other studies such as Smith (1987) report student social skill development as indicated by the following reaction of one of his students: “Group learning has allowed me to develop by forcing me to listen to and learn from what others have to say” (p. 666). Further, Allen (1986) conducted a naturalistic study to investigate classroom management from about 100 high-school students’ perspectives. He found that socialization was one of two students’ major classroom goals.

The next elements to be discussed are common to group work data related to both the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional methods. They include idea complementariness and perspective variety within the cognitive category. It is worth pointing out that students used a Malagasy proverb or its variants for their explanations/justifications of these elements as is the case of the following: “The ideas of the many can reach far, so what I don’t know is/are known by others” [and vice versa]. These data are extremely informative regarding students’ feelings about, perceptions of

different types of group collaboration, or both. It appears that many students like group work regardless of its type or characteristics. This is evidenced by the presence of similar explanations/justifications related to it in both teaching practices. The Malagasy proverb noted above epitomized this tendency. Students who rated the liking of group work item high as related to the traditional method (i.e., scores of 3.00 and 4.00) gave explanations/justifications that tended to match the essential meaning conveyed in the proverb mentioned above. To the researcher's knowledge, this proverb carries a fundamental Malagasy belief regarding benefits obtained from collaboration as opposed to individual work: Several discussion participants generate several and varied ideas/opinions, as opposed to a single individual. The great number and variety of ideas/opinions enable the group to explore a topic or problem in depth and breadth. Therefore, the product emerging from the group activity or discussion is believed to be well-thought out, well-designed, original, or all of these. This is so because participants' knowledge, talents, abilities, and skills are believed to complement and feed into each other. As such, they are exposed to a wide variety of input and can learn from it. Thus, it can be argued that there is a kind of collaborative knowledge-gap filling process or strategy during collaborative work, knowledge comprising a wide variety of fields rather than being limited to academics. Further, the group ideas are believed to build on each other, generating a new or original one(s) in the end, new or original in depth and breadth. Therefore, each participant is believed to benefit from the group activity although the nature, depth, breadth of the gained knowledge, or all of these, can differ

from individual to individual. The multifaceted knowledge gains reported above for the cooperative consciousness-raising group work confirm this argument.

The literature reports similar findings regarding genuine collaborative group work. Smith's (1987) students, for example, claim that, "the people in the group can help you see the material from a different point of view." "By combining the knowledge and ideas of a group of people, the product has a better quality and it gets done quicker" (p. 666). Likewise, Johnson et al. (1993) claim that well-structured cooperative groups produce quality work and outperform individuals working alone.

Further, students' use of the above proverb or its variants to explain/justify their group work ratings can be interpreted as a manifestation of their strong belief in the power of collaborative work to yield more benefits than individual work, as students' need to bring their community cultural values into classrooms, or both. A similar case was observed among Malagasy students in other studies. From their seminal ethnographic research in Madagascar, Keenan and Ochs (1979), for example, found Malagasy students' tendency to "generalize their village ethic to the classroom by copying each other's homework." Such a behavior, the authors correctly note, means "cheating" to Europeans. But to these students, it means natural sharing with one's equals (p. 144). If sharing is natural to Malagasy students, then, it can be viewed as a need. This need can be met within group work via genuine collaboration in cooperative learning group activity. This can be a reason of the strong positive feeling expressed by students in this study. As such, these findings support Haynes and Gebreyesus's (1992) claim that students whose cultures value kinship bonds, such as African Americans, are

more likely to appreciate cooperative learning because it reflects their “sociocultural milieu” by incorporating their “cultural value in their learning interactions in school” (p. 581). The same can be true for Native Americans because of their “group-centered” cultural value (Soldier, 1989, p. 162): “Cooperative learning structures...allow the Native American child to succeed without being singled out and to use the social skills acquired outside of school in a productive manner within the classroom” (1992, p. 16).

The last explanation/justification provided by students in this study to be discussed in this section concerns frustration. As mentioned above, a student stated, “There were group members in higher grades that showed off.” This warrants special attention. As a reminder, the cooperative consciousness-raising group in this study comprised students in tenth and eleventh graders. Obviously, the group in which this student worked was heterogeneous in terms of English language knowledge or ability or both. Such types of group can help in building of constructive relationships among students, increasing in-depth understanding, reasoning quality, and prolonged retention accuracy (Johnson et al., 1993). It is of interest to explore possible reasons for this student’s explanation.

This seems to be a case of status problems in heterogeneous grouping, personality factor being excluded. If there were relationship problems between members of this student’s group, then, the claimed power of heterogeneous grouping to better and positively impact students’ relationships appears valid in the present case. Indeed, the student in question seemed to actively participate in subsequent activities, as observed. Also, there were neither further complaints nor observed incidents. These can be

interpreted as relationship improvement among group members as an impact of a better mutual understanding.

Another negative effect of status problems related to mixed student ability is self-fulfilling prophecy: Perceived high-ability students become more active and influential while perceived low-ability students are discerned less able. Low status students are “cut off from access to the resources of the group” (Cohen, 1994, p. 24). This does not appear to be the case in the present incident. Indeed, the student’s high ratings (i.e., 3.00) of both the items related to the ability of the cooperative consciousness-raising technique to enhance motivation and to improve achievements the student allotted to the ability as well as her explanations/justifications (i.e., “I understood everything we did” and “It can help students with [their knowledge of/ability] in everyday English,” respectively) indicate that she did not feel and was not cut off from her group’s resources. If she did, she would not have given a high score for the former item. If she was, she would not have reported the learning gains reflected in her explanations, assuming that access to group resources positively affects learning outcomes. The acceptable scores she received in the English Achievement Test are further evidence that she *had learnt*. For example, she received a score of 13 out of a maximum score of 20 on her ability to produce appropriate American requests.

A third reason can be lack of or insufficient social skills mainly at the beginning of the Student Training phase. If this is true, then this case supports the strong advocacy for training students to acquire these skills for them to effectively work in groups (Johnson et al., 1993).

A fourth reason could be linked to her unfamiliarity with the shift of the locus of control that was taking place in the cooperative consciousness-raising class. The assignment of student group roles was a manifestation of this shift. Therefore, when members of this student's group complained about her unwillingness to participate in their group work to the researcher, they were advised to resolve the problem within themselves and use their respective roles. This was to convey to them that group roles imply responsibility and each group member, as well as the group as a unit, has to take his/her responsibility, including responsibility to resolve group problems, conflicts, or frictions. They certainly followed the pieces of advice. The student in question could have interpreted what her group members said and/or did as "showing off" as she was still used to receiving "instructions" or the like from her teacher rather than from her peers. She was probably expecting to practice what Evans (1996) refers to as "cooperative *listening*" (p. 33, emphasis in the original), which consists of sitting in groups to still passively listen or wait for the teacher to give her instructions to participate, suggesting a change in format but not in substance. Indeed, the researcher had noticed this student sit *apart* from her group mates with her *arms folded*, glancing at the former as if waiting for a direction like "work with your friends." Shifting from a teacher-centered to a learner-centered teaching/learning environment is certainly a significant change that requires a redefinition of role relationships within the classroom sphere, among others. As Bolman and Deal (1991) point out, change brings confusion and typical problems arise during change because "people no longer know what their duties are, how to relate to others, or who has the authority to make decisions" (p. 382).

Within this confusion, all those whose roles are affected “need to know what will be expected of them and what they can expect from others” (Evans, 1996, p. 67). They need clarity and time in the process of “learning new skills and behavior and unlearning old ones” (Fullan, 1991, p. 129). Certainly, students are no exception: They, too, need clarity and time to learn new skills and behaviors required by change and to unlearn old ones to which they have adhered for years.

The major points being made here are the following: during change, statements such as the one made by the student in the present study should be taken as normal or logical reactions rather than *barriers* to change adoption. They represent valuable input from students as for how they experience change. As such, they should not constitute a basis for abandoning change. Instead, they should be viewed as valuable data that can be used to assist students in becoming clear about and competent in the new skills and behaviors they need to master to effectively perform their roles within the innovation new environment.

Lesson understanding enhancement. Statistical analysis of students’ ratings of the lesson understanding enhancement item yielded a mean of 1.61 and a median of 2.00 for the traditional method of English instruction. The cooperative consciousness-raising method received a mean of 3.33 and a median of 3.50. Results of *t* test indicated a significant difference between these means, with $p < .00$. These suggest that students have more favorable attitudes towards the cooperative consciousness-raising technique as for its capability to enhance lesson understanding as compared to traditional approach being investigated.

For the traditional instructional method, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category involved lack of/little understanding, insufficient explanations, and meaninglessness. Within the general category, students indicated teacher-controlled lectures, cross disciplinary uselessness, and helpful use of the Malagasy language. The English teacher gave a score of 2.00. Her explanation/justification relates to different results: "There are students who understand and there are others who don't").

Students' explanations/justifications for their less favorable attitudes towards the traditional method of instruction indicate that little or no learning takes place. A reason for this appears to be what might be called *disconnectedness*. The following student's justification/explanation in Malagasy epitomizes this disconnectedness:

Izy irery (mpampianatra) no miteny sy manazava eo.

Translation: It's she (the teacher) alone that speaks and explains over there.

A closer look at this sentence will clarify the point being made here. This sentence contains three major features whose combination clearly indicates disconnectedness: (a) the sentence construction, (b) the lexical item *irery* (i.e., alone), and (c) the locative substitute *eo* (i.e., there).

First, this sentence has a marked construction subject-verb word order with a defined predicate, like the English teacher's statement discussed above. To repeat, it has a "marked construction" subject-verb word order pattern (Rajaona, 1972, p. 61) with a "defined predicate" (p. 76) because the grammatical subject *izy* (i.e., "she") has been moved to position initial, and the particle *no* indicator of a defined predicate has been

inserted between it and the predicate *miteny sy manazava* (i.e., speaks and explains).

Thus, the statement has an “emphatic value” giving prominence to the grammatical subject (Rajaona, 1972, p. 61), and indicates an “identity rapport” between the predicate and the grammatical subject. In other words, the grammatical subject (i.e., she) has been identified as “(who) speaks and explains.” The “exclusive value” of the particle *no* (p. 89) indicates that all subjects but the one in the utterance are excluded. As such, the student’s statement can be interpreted as follows: Speaking and explanation in the traditional class put an emphasis on *the teacher* and are exclusively maintained by her.

The second feature, the subject determiner alone appears to reinforce this interpretation. Indeed, alone means “apart from other people” (“The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language,” 1981, p. 36). In addition, when a subject determiner is used in Malagasy, the grammatical subject and its determiner become “one single segment” with an emphasis on the latter (Rajaona, 1972, p. 87). It follows that, in the student’s statement, the determiner *irery* (i.e., alone), meaning “apart from other people in the classroom, who are students,” is emphasized. That is, it indicates a disconnection between the English teacher and students.

The locative substitute *eo* (i.e., there), the third feature in the statement, further reinforces this idea of disconnectedness. Rajaona (1972) observes that, in Malagasy, “the foundation of the system of locative substitutes is the fundamental opposition between the place where the speaker is and all other places which are outside his [or hers]” (p. 616). Locative substitutes are polarizing linguistic devices utilized to indicate degrees of distance between individuals or groups. The distance can be material, intellectual, or

both. The locative substitute *eo* indicates a precise location which is “visible” to the speaker, but which is situated “outside” his/her zone (Rajaona, 1972, p. 617). From this, the student’s use of this locative substitute can be interpreted as follows: In the classroom, the English teacher’s place is *visible* to students. This place can be viewed as a physical location, status position, or both. It is situated *outside* students’ place. Therefore, the student’s statement can indicate a *physical disconnection*, *intellectual disconnection*, *affective disconnection*, or all of these, between the English teacher and students. In addition, the former has the status of someone who has the role to *speak and explain*, a role that students do not have because of their status. Because she operates within a zone *outside* that of students, her speaking and explanations are *inaccessible* to them. Thus, it is as though she and some students operate in two different and disconnected spheres.

The explanations/justifications offered by students reported above support this argument of disconnectedness: Some experience little or no understanding. According to the Piaget and Dewey, understanding occurs when learners can connect input to their existing knowledge. This is so because “to understand is to discover, or reconstruct by rediscovery” (Piaget, 1976, p. 20). Inability to make this connection would result in little or no understanding. Related to this are insufficient explanations and lack of lesson clarity indicated by other students. It could be that the amount of the explanations provided by the teacher does not enable students to make the connection between the lessons being taught and what they already know. The same applies to the lack of relationship between lessons and test questions reported by other students: They are

unable to make the connection between assessment and lessons probably because of lack of lesson understanding.

It appears that the disconnectedness discussed above resulted in students' more negative attitudes towards the traditional method. A reason for this could be learning meaningfulness felt or perceived by students. Meaninglessness could lead to students' de-motivation to learn (Brophy, 1987), lack of interest to learn (Dewey, 1913/1941/1975), alienation (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). This appears to be the case in this study.

The failure of whole group instruction or traditional method of instruction to enhance all students' learning motivation and understanding is well documented in the educational literature. It has been found to be a differential type of instruction. That is, teaching and explanations in whole-group classrooms are directed to some students only, leaving the majority unattended (Bloom, 1978). Further, this type of instruction can negatively impact learners from certain cultural backgrounds (Gaies, 1985). Native American students, for example, may fear that they will be embarrassed and ridiculed and may eventually drop out of school because "there is a chasm between the child's home life and life at school that is not bridged by the conventional...school" (Soldier, 1992, p. 16). Similar observations were made as regards second/foreign language instruction. Gaies (1985), for example, argues that this type of instruction would benefit language learners who have learning motivation more than others who do not have this type of motivation since the former would be willing to learn language in any type of instructional method.

Another reason can be related to Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development or "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adults guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). It could be that, in the traditional classroom, the English teacher in this study operates within the proximal zones of development of some students *only*, leaving others needing different proximal zones of development disconnected and unable to intellectually grow.

Returning to students' statements, the only explanation/justification that seems to reflect positive attitude towards the traditional approach in terms of lesson understanding enhancement concerns "use of the Malagasy *when needed*" (italics added). It appears that this student appreciates the use of the native language when it helps with understanding. Similar claims have been made by second/foreign language researchers/educators. For example, Finocchiaro and Brumfit (1983) contend that "*judicious* use of native language is accepted where feasible" (p. 93, italics added) in language classrooms. Use of the learners' native language should certainly not be equated to substitution of the target language with it.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising practice, students indicated intellectual involvement/challenge, disciplined learning, and use of existing knowledge within the cognitive category. Within the social category, mutual teaching was reported. Within the general category, real-world usefulness was indicated. The English teacher gave a score of 3.00 to the "lesson understanding enhancement" as related to the cooperative

consciousness-raising technique. Her explanation/justification was related to exploration contribution.

These findings seem to indicate student intellectual involvement in challenging tasks/activities results in great knowledge growth when the input is related to existing knowledge. It could be that while processing the input, students had to put various elements into relationships and integrate them in their cognitive structures. In so doing, they expanded these structures both in quantity and quality. This would correspond to knowledge quantitative and qualitative growth. Further, data seem to reveal that meaningfulness is linked to usefulness of learning features, activities, or both, in real-world contexts, and to discovery of new learning strategies. These suggest that students used their knowledge of outside world during input processing. This would further contribute to their knowledge growth as a result of increase in input or existing knowledge activated. Both knowledge growth and meaningfulness appear to be connected to reciprocal teaching and mutual learning. This is related to idea complementariness, variety of perspective, and collaborative teaching and learning discussed above. That is, students learn a great deal because of the great amount and diversity of input and commitment to help each other learn.

Consistent with these findings is a general agreement among educators that students are likely to be motivated to learn when learning is active. Drawing from his synthesis on learning and motivation, Brophy (1987), for example, lists the following among strategies that can motivate students to learn: (a) use of thoughtful learning, which entails engagement in information activities; (b) meaningful learning, which

involves knowledge or skills worth learning; (c) appropriate level of challenge, which includes tasks that allow students to achieve success via use of reasonable effort; (d) provision of opportunities for students to respond actively; and (e) incorporation of novelty, which can concern activity content, form, and/or nature of responses it demands. Also, students are likely to engage in learning when there is “authentic student achievement.” In other words, students are generally motivated to learn when they construct meaning, produce knowledge, use disciplined inquiry for knowledge construction, and aim their work toward production of discourse, products, and performances that have values or meaning beyond success in school (Newmann & Wehlage, 1993, p. 8). All of these are reported or reflected in informants’ justifications/explanations of their more favorable attitudes towards the cooperative consciousness-raising technique as regards its ability to enhance lesson understanding mentioned above.

Knowledge-lesson relation. Statistical analyses of students’ ratings of the knowledge-lesson relation item yielded a mean score of 1.33 and a median score of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean score of 3.11 and a median score of 3.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method, and a significant between mean score difference with $p < .00$. These results indicate significantly more favorable students’ attitudes toward the latter method as for its ability to relate lessons to learners’ existing knowledge compared to the former method.

For the traditional method of instruction, students’ justifications/explanations of their ratings indicate that their more negative attitudes toward it were related to its

inability to help their intellectual growth, and the vast amount of mere lessons that dominate it within the cognitive category. Within the general category, they related their lower ratings to its unclear and unhelpful characteristic, and its failure to offer them learning activities to be carried out.

These data seem to indicate that students are unable to activate their existing knowledge because of their lack of understanding of lessons or explanations, of their passive role in the traditional classroom, or both. Thus, they are unable to intellectually grow because they cannot assimilate input into their existing cognitive structures given that lack of understanding would prevent them from connecting new information with preexisting knowledge.

These findings support Piaget's (1948/1972/1973) claims: When the input is not processed by learners, they are unable to relate it to their existing knowledge and assimilate it. The accumulation of knowledge in the memory via furnishing learners with ready-made answers found in traditional classrooms in general does not engage them in real activities that would enable them to manipulate input. Thus, knowledge growth is unlikely to occur because no construction or reconstruction takes place.

Similar to the quantitative data reported above, qualitative data related to the knowledge-lesson connection item indicate different results for the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. Within the cognitive category, it is mentioned that this practice makes use of informants' prior knowledge including their way of working and thinking. Also reported is its ability to stimulate informants' faculty to compare/contrast and explore. Within the affective category, informants' appreciation of the practice is

reported as facilitating learning. The general category indicates the effectiveness of the practice.

These data reveal that informants appreciate the cooperative consciousness-raising technique more regarding knowledge-lesson relation because it enables them to intellectually grow. This growth seems related to its ability to help learners build or rebuild knowledge via active involvement in exploratory activities and utilization of existing knowledge. Indeed, activities in this practice employed learners' knowledge of their native language, cultural values, and their manifestations in everyday life. This is very likely to relate to what informants reported as known way of thinking and working. Also, examples of requests used for comparison and contrasts included Malagasy requests that they provided, that is, examples that they knew. All of this would help them to expand their knowledge.

These results are consistent with claims in the literature. Piaget (1948/1972/1973), for example, contends that when learners are given the opportunity to actively engage in exploration, they are likely to intellectually grow via refuting or confirming their hypotheses. They build the input that they process on what they already know, leading to knowledge growth. Likewise, Dewey (1913/1941/1975) states that when learning activities are connected to learners' experiences, learning is likely to take place. Within second/foreign language classrooms, learners' active and meaningful use of the target language can facilitate and accelerate its acquisition (Gaies, 1985; Long, 1990).

Information retention enhancement. Statistical analyses of students' ratings of the information retention enhancement item yielded a mean of 1.17 and median of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.22 and a median of 3.50 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. A significant difference between means was found, with $p < .00$. These results indicate less favorable student attitudes towards the traditional method as for its ability to enhance information retention compared to the cooperative consciousness-raising technique.

For the traditional teaching method, students' justifications/explanations include meaninglessness, confusion, little retention, and lack of learning. The English teacher's rating of this item was 0.00 for the traditional approach. Her explanation/justification was: "There is no retention because of insufficient [student] participation."

These explanations/justifications indicate that students experience little or no information retention in the traditional class. The reasons reported, that is, absence of learning, lack of understanding, meaninglessness, and confusion, appear related. It is unquestionable that if learning has not taken place, there is no information to retain. Likewise, if there is no understanding, no learning occurs, thus, no retention is expected. Lack of understanding and learning appears related to students' confusion, to accumulation of not-understood lessons, or both. A possible interpretation is reflected in the English teacher explanation/justification. She states that retention is absent because students' participation is insufficient. In other words, there is little students' engagement in the learning process in the traditional method class. Consequently, they are unable to retain information. This is consistent with students' inability to make connection

discussed above. To expand, the English teacher does the majority of lesson explanations in the traditional class. A great majority of students just passively listens rather than actively processes input. Certainly, passive listening does not allow understanding and learning to take place.

These findings are consistent with claims in the literature. Newmann and Wehlage (1993), for example, argue that two of the major drawbacks of traditional method of instruction are that it does not allow students to utilize their minds well, and that it requires them to rote memorize facts needed for tests and/or examinations. Thus, understanding rarely takes place, and retention is poor, if any. Students forget the rote-memorized facts after a short period of time (Ornstein & Hunkins, 1993). Likewise, Piaget (1948/1972/1973) contends that little remains from traditional school learning because what students learn “is learned on command” and “imposed from outside,” rather than through intellectual engagement (p. 93). Moreover, in teaching environment where rote learning is “valued for itself, students feel frustrated and powerless” (Glasser, 1985, p. 245). Frustration and powerlessness are clearly conveyed in a student’s statement “I don’t know what I’m doing” reported above.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, justifications/explanations involved good and sustained retention, and immediate intellectual growth within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, motivation inducement was reported. Within the general category the following were mentioned: multiple learning strategies/tools and learning facilitation. The English teacher’s rating of this item was

3.00 for the cooperative learning technique. Her explanation/justification reads as follows: “The visual materials help them [students].”

These statements indicate that, unlike the traditional approach, the cooperative consciousness-raising technique is better able to enhance students’ retention. This seems to be related to the use of various strategies to process information, and to learning motivation inducement. The use of a variety of information processing strategies would correspond to use of various ways of putting elements into relationships, including utilization of various perspectives, among others. This would mean solid understanding and good retention. Again, it could be that, when students realized their knowledge growth, their motivation to learn increased out of their desire to discover more.

The education literature indicates that when students manipulate information, they discover new meanings and understandings and are more likely to be motivated to learn (Newmann & Wehlage, 1993). When they understand through knowledge discovery and construction, they are more likely to retain what they have understood and constructed for a very long time (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973, 1976).

Also, these findings are in accord with Gardner’s multiple intelligences (Gardner & Hatch, 1989). Gardner contends that each individual can process information via seven types of intelligences, although the specific profile of these intelligences differs from individual to individual: logical-mathematical, linguistic, musical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. The more of these intelligences teaching materials address, the more able students are to process information, and the more retention occurs. A reason for good and sustained retention mentioned by students in this

study is multiple learning strategies. Most of Gardner's intelligences were addressed in the cooperative consciousness-raising technique. Indeed, activities included group discussions and explorations, material design, and presentations to address at least interpersonal, linguistic, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, and logical-mathematical intelligences. Use of the combination of two or more of these could have enhanced students' information processing capabilities, understanding, and retention.

Improvement of the quality of education. Statistical analysis results of students' ratings of the improvement of the quality of education yielded a mean of 1.28 and a median of 1.00 for the traditional approach, and a mean of 3.56 and a median of 4.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising technique. A between mean significant difference was found, with $p < .00$. These results indicate less favorable students' attitudes towards the former method as compared to the latter technique as for their ability to improve the quality of education.

For the traditional method, rating justifications/explanations within the cognitive category included lesson delivery, recitation/parroting, and inaccessibility. Within the general category, the following were identified: meaninglessness, lack of educational features, and disconnection with real world. The English teacher rating of this item was 1.00. Her explanation was as follows: "Not all students participate."

These explanations/justifications reveal that informants in this study see little or no educational value in the traditional teaching practice. Students' statements indicate that the traditional teaching practice fails to produce outcomes that they can use in their everyday life. That is, it does not equip them with tools of practical value. Also, students

appear to view parroting as an unsuitable learning practice to meet their educational needs. Indeed, they seem to view it as *mere lesson instruction*, that is, a method which gives instructions to follow for lesson learning without much thinking, and the lessons cannot be used for anything useful. Related to this, this method fails to have students participate in the learning process, thus, it has little educational value(s), as indicated by the English teacher's response: It does not educate them to be active participants in their current and future community lives.

These results are in accord with research findings in the educational literature. The purpose of school, Glasser (1985) contends, is to satisfy learners' immediate and future needs via "need-fulfilling activities" (p. 245). Rote learning is not a need-fulfilling activity because it results in students' frustration and powerlessness (Glasser, 1985). It is so because it does not allow students to discover the truth for themselves. Instead, it intellectually constrains them (Piaget, 1976). Likewise, lecture-dominated instruction in whole-group classrooms is unable to address each student's needs (Glasser, 1985) because a single teacher cannot monitor each student's performance (Gaies, 1985). Indeed, as Brezinka (1993) points out, education can be described as "learning assistance" so that educational aims can be attained (p. 84). Data in this study reveal that, from both students' and their teacher's perspectives, the traditional method being investigated fails to provide students with this assistance.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising, students indicated the following in the cognitive category: collaborative intellectual involvement and knowledge gain/skill acquisition. Within the affective category, motivation inducement was reported. Within

the social category, the following were indicated: exploration of others, character building, and reciprocal educational influence. The English teacher gave the maximum rating of 4.00 to this item for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. Her explanation reads: "Students' skills complement each other."

These results indicate that informants think that the cooperative learning technique under investigation is more capable to enhance the quality of education because it enables them to intellectually, emotionally, and socially grow within a collaborative learning environment, and explore others. As discussed above, students were actively engaged in exploration activities in this class. This can be interpreted as educating them to become problem solvers or better problem solvers as well as evaluators for decision making. Certainly, all individuals need these skills in their personal and community lives to be responsible individuals and active members of the community. Likewise, the intellectual gains and growth offered by this practice equip them with tools they would need to approach problems or challenges in their current and future lives. The more knowledge they can activate, the better the solution(s) they can find. Further, the collaboration they engaged in can educate them to live with others. Any social life requires preparation for social interactions. Individuals need to have interpersonal skills in order to effectively participate in these interactions. Apparently, the cooperative consciousness-raising practice enables students to acquire these skills, as the data reveal. Most importantly, it is capable of building students' character, still as indicated by the data.

These findings support claims in the educational literature. For example, Piaget (1948/1972/1973) ascertains that education is an indivisible whole comprising intellectual, emotional, and social components, among others. Only cooperation can contribute to students' full development in these various educational facets. In the same vein, DeVries and Zan (1994) claim that collaborative exploration can give students "extensive opportunity for personal constructive activity" leading to "a highly differentiated personality with social, emotional, intellectual, and moral competence," competence that students need in their current and future lives (p. 51). Other cooperative learning techniques have been found to yield multiple outcomes similar to those reported by informants in this study. Compared to individual instructional practices, they can better enhance students' intellectual growth (Simpson, 1994), social commitment (McManus & Kirby, 1985), and self-esteem (Johnson et al., 1993).

Further, data indicate that students view knowledge of people's ways of living as contributing to the quality of education. Awareness of one's way of living enables one to improve one's behaviors by activating one's knowledge. This would result in better social interactions. Also, knowledge of others can contribute to a better understanding of them, which would allow adoption of their perspectives. Knowledge of others' worldview will certainly enhance one's ability to tolerate others' behaviors in case of conflicting views. This tolerance will greatly improve one's way of interacting with others. Data indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising educates students to become more tolerant and understanding via self-knowledge and knowledge of others.

Similar findings are consistent with claims contained in the literature. Piaget (1948/1972/1973), for example, claims that “education is one whole, and is one of two fundamental, necessary factors for intellectual and moral formation, so much so that the school carries a great responsibility regarding the final success or failure of the individual in pursuit of his [or her] own potential and adaptation to social living” (p. 55). The entire teaching must become international to prepare students for the interdependence of nations by assisting them in becoming tolerant and understanding. “Judgments that one country has on other countries, the astonishing myopia that permits whole nations to reproach in others (with all sincerity) attitudes that characterize their own behavior to an equally great degree, the inability to put oneself in perspective with regard to opinions that are different from one’s own, etc., all are common phenomena on all levels, and to understand their importance on the international plane it is essential to have discovered them” (p. 141). To discover them, “decentering is necessary” as it allows “reflection on social relations” (DeVries & Zan, 1994, p. 45). In other words, “to realize the attitudes of others toward the self requires decentering to think of the self from their point of view” (p. 44). Another way to discover them is via awareness of one’s and others’ cultural values and their manifestations (Kramsch, 1993; Meier, 1995). This awareness can be raised through language classrooms that are transformed into “cross-cultural fieldwork, in which the participants are both informants and ethnographers” (Kramsch, 1993, p. 29). Both decentering and crosscultural explorations were considered in the cooperative consciousness-raising class via collaborative teaching and learning, and explorations of

the Malagasy and American English languages and their links to related cultural values, respectively.

Creativity enhancement. Statistical analysis of students' ratings of the creativity enhancement item yielded a mean of 1.11 and a median of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.33 and a median of 3.50 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. A significant difference was found between means, with $p < .00$. These results reveal less favorable student attitudes towards the former as compared to the latter.

For the traditional method, students' explanations/justifications included little accessibility within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, absence of supportive environment was mentioned. Within the social category, lack of idea sharing was reported. Within the general category, lack of creativity inducement, absence of novelty, and little language skill use were indicated. The English teacher gave a rating of 0.00 to this item with the following justification/explanation: "(It) Can't (enhance student creativity) because (student) participation is insufficient."

These data reveal that, to the informants, the traditional method of instruction is devoid of several elements that are likely to enhance students' creativity. They can be interpreted as follows: A key condition for creativity to occur is understanding. However, the traditional method fails to help students understand because of the absence of a learning supportive environment and of novelty, two elements which can motivate them to learn. Added to this is the students' inability to consider multiple perspectives due to the absence of idea sharing via collaborative work. Also, learning does not take

place because of the lack of opportunity for them to actively engage in the learning process including their use of the target language.

This interpretation is consistent with claims made in the educational literature. For example, DeVries and Zan (1994) contend that an educational experience that emphasizes students' reproduction of memorized information results in intellectual dullness. It impedes personal creativity because it fails to provide students with explorative opportunities. Also, lack of favorable learning conditions delays student learning, and negatively impacts their interests in learning and their attitudes.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, students' justifications/explanations of their ratings of the creativity enhancement item involved intellectual involvement within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, interest inducement was cited. Within the social category, presence of idea sharing was revealed. Within the general category, presence of creativity inducing features, learner-centered elements, and activity structure were reported.

The English teacher gave a rating of 3.00 to this item for the cooperative consciousness-raising method with the following explanation/justification: "(Students) Can present their ideas as they like. This was apparent during their design of visual materials."

These data reveal that the cooperative consciousness-raising strategy contains several elements that are likely to enhance students' creativity. They can be interpreted as follows: Students are intellectually engaged in input and knowledge manipulations and are exposed to multiple perspectives. This combination can promote and enhance

learning and understanding, which in turn can promote and enhance creativity. Their feeling of being the center of learning, combined with the opportunity to choose provided to them, makes their learning experience more meaningful and further promotes their motivation to participate and learn, as well as their interest in various activities. To be able to effectively perform their group roles, they have to explore and invent means that allow their peers to understand what they say. To be able to convey their individual or group ideas/opinions, they have to produce effective communicative means.

The education literature offers similar interpretations regarding learners' collaborative educational experiences. DeVries and Zan (1994), for example, affirm that, when provided with opportunities to explore, learners can experience tremendous intellectual competence including competence to create. Also, students' feeling of ownership has a profound impact on their interest to learn, which in turn stimulates efforts to produce. Further, conditions that support and promote learners' knowledge construction or reconstruction enhance their production and creativity capabilities. These include learners' active involvement in collaborative explorations (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973).

Motivation enhancement. Statistical analyses of students' ratings of the motivation enhancement item yielded a mean and median of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.56 and median of 4.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising strategy. There was a significant difference between means, with $p < .00$. These results reveal less favorable student attitudes towards the former method as compared to the latter.

For the traditional method of instruction, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category involved absence of concrete improvement. Within the affective category, apathy and lack of nurture were reported. Within the general category, absence of language skill use was mentioned. The English teacher gave a rating of 1.00 to this item for the traditional method. Her explanation/justification was as follows: "It's like they work alone, so they are unenthusiastic."

These responses reveal that students are less motivated to learn when they cannot see gain/improvement in knowledge and skills, work alone, cannot take responsibility, and when the learning environment lacks nurture. These concur with findings in other research findings. Brophy (1987), for example, maintains that learners are less likely to invest efforts into learning that does not yield valued results. As mentioned above, whole-group classroom instruction is unable to address the varied individual students' needs and interests (Gaies, 1985; Ornstein, 1995). It only fits a very small number of students. Its use is based on the assumption that students form a homogeneous group (Ornstein, 1995) and impersonal whole (Gaies, 1985). Further, it can even be harmful to students whose home culture values group membership (Soldier, 1992). The student's statement above corroborates these observations: In the traditional method classroom, instruction "does not capture students' hearts" because, a single teacher cannot address the different needs of each student in a large group. Therefore, the uniqueness of each student is often lost in it (Bloom, 1978, p. 105).

For the cooperative consciousness-raising method, students' explanations/justifications were related to learning facilitation and sustained knowledge

improvement within the cognitive category. Within the affective category, motivation, self-confidence, excitement, and interest inducement, and nurturing environment were indicated. . Within the general category, student-centeredness and language skill use were mentioned. The English gave the maximum rating score of 4.00 and the following explanation/justification: "Collaborative work is enjoyable."

These data indicate interconnections of various factors that can lead to learning facilitation. They suggest that the ability of activities to motivate and interest learners facilitate learning. This ability can be related to the learner-centered nature of these activities, the nurturing environment, the active use of language within the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching technique, or both.

Similar claims are reported in the language pedagogy literature. For example, Aronson and Patnoe (1997) maintain that a cooperative learning teaching practice is able to facilitate language learning because of a low-anxiety environment and active language use it provides. Also, its student-centered characteristic can enhance learners' motivation to learn (Simpson, 1990). Further, the meaningful and purposeful language use in it can greatly facilitate the acquisition of the language (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gaies, 1985).

Achievement improvement. Results on statistical analyses of students' ratings of the achievement improvement item indicated a mean of 1.67 and median of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.33 and median of 3.50 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. Computations of *t* tests yielded a significant difference between means, $p < .00$. These findings show less favorable student attitudes towards the former method as for its ability to improve achievement compared to the latter.

For the traditional approach, justifications/explanations within the cognitive category included lack of understanding. Within the affective category involved absence of motivation inducement. Within the general category, the following were reported: insufficient student participation meaningless efforts, and lack of language skill use. The English teacher's rating of this item was 1.00 with the following explanation/justification was: "Individual work is not beneficial."

These data suggest students' feeling of powerlessness in the traditional method because they do not feel that they can control their own learning and its outcomes. Further, as discussed above, they are not provided with opportunities to participate, collaborate with their peers, and use the target language. Consequently, they fail to learn and understand, the end result of which being poor achievement, at best.

The literature reports similar claims. Gaies (1985), for example, observes that teachers control traditional non-primary language classrooms: They dominate the talk, manage learning time, set input and output standards, and monitor exchanges, among others. This teacher control results in students' de-motivation, loss of interest in learning, and poor performances in the target language.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, students' explanations/justifications within the cognitive category included knowledge growth, learning facilitation, presence of curiosity inducement, and intellectual involvement. The affective category comprised motivating features and enjoyment. The general category involved frequent use of English and clear expectations. The English teacher's rating of

this item was 3.00. The following was her explanation/justification: “Collaborative work is beneficial.”

These data indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising technique promotes students’ control over and ownership of their learning: They assume clear responsibility for their participation, exploration and manipulation of input, quantity and quality of exchanges, their own and peers’ learning, and attainment of expected group learning goals. In so doing, they would feel having the power and ability to influence the outcomes of their learning and persevere in order to benefit more from their learning. Ultimately, they would realize the meaningfulness and purposefulness of their learning and work harder to improve their performances.

The literature gives accounts of similar claims. Doughty and Pica (1986), for example, argue that the presence of information gap in target language activities promotes meaningful and purposeful student interactions. Information gap is a key element in jigsaw (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997) and was utilized in the cooperative consciousness-raising practice in the present study. Also, jigsaw techniques, by providing language learners multiple opportunities to practice using the target language, can have tremendous impact on students’ performances. Learners’ motivation to learn can also be enhanced by the meaningful use of the language (Gaies, 1985). Further, students’ intellectual involvement, by giving them extensive opportunities to explicate and elaborate their opinions, can assist in their intellectual growth (DeVries & Zan, 1994; Johnson et al., 1993; Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). The cooperative consciousness-raising practice in this study targeted students’ active involvement in the explorations of the

Malagasy and American English languages and cultures in an effort to raise their awareness of these interconnected elements.

Learning interest enhancement. Statistical analyses of students' ratings of the learning interest enhancement item yielded a mean of 1.17 and median of 1.00 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.44 and median of 4.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice. There was a significant difference between means, with $p < .00$. These results indicate less favorable student attitudes towards the former approach as for its ability to enhance students' learning interest compared to the latter technique.

For the traditional method of instruction, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category included lack of knowledge and language skills. Within the affective category, the following were cited: lack of interest inducement and lack of nurture. Within the general category, lack of novelty was mentioned. The English teacher gave a rating of 1.00 to this item for the traditional method. Her explanation/justification was: "[Students'] minds don't work but [rather] passively receive [information]."

These data reveal that the environment within the traditional method is devoid of affective nurture and support for student learning. As such, it fails to provide with favorable conditions for student intellectual, social, and emotional growth. Added to this is the absence of attractive elements such as novelty, suggesting monotony in the classroom. Indeed, listening to the same teacher voice for hours would be monotonous. So would listening to the same lessons or topics over and over again, as revealed by data

presented above. As such, this teaching method is more likely to eradicate students' learning interest rather than enhance it.

The literature provides similar claims. Roueche (1984), for example, sustains that traditional whole group classrooms require students to perform passive roles in the learning process. This passivity makes them become apathetic. Likewise, DeVries and Zan (1994) contend that educational experiences that limit learners' active engagement into the learning process leads to the constriction of their social, emotional, and intellectual development. Such experiences fail to induce interest to learn in them and prevent them from engaging their efforts into learning. Similarly, Glasser (1985) argues that classrooms that put great value on rote learning fail to intellectually empower learners, to provide them with warmth and human care, and lead to their frustration and powerlessness.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising method, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category included activity understanding, knowledge gain, and learning strategy improvement. Within the affective category, satisfaction and interest inducement were reported. Within the general category, presence of student involvement, and frequent use of English were indicated. The English teacher's rating of this item was 3.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. Her explanation/justification was: "[Students'] Minds work rather than passively receive [information]."

These data suggest that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice helps learners in knowledge gain and growth. This growth could result from their participation

in the learning process, the enjoyment or satisfaction that they feel in the learning process, and the accessible nature of activity or input. It could further enhance their interest to learn.

The literature contains similar arguments. For example, Glasser (1985) contends that satisfaction with what they learn enhances students' efforts to learn. When they realize the benefits of their efforts, they work harder, and their learning interest is enhanced. Additionally, a warm and caring learning environment results in immediate benefits. Collaborative activities can provide such an environment (DeVries & Zan, 1994; Dewey, 1913/1941/1975; Gaies, 1985; Johnson et al., 1993; Piaget, 1948/1972/1973; Putman, 1997; Sergiovanni, 1994; Slavin, 1991, 1995; Slavin & Oikle, 1981).

Listening and speaking skill practice enhancement. The data obtained for these two skills are analyzed and interpreted together in this section.

For the traditional method of instruction, statistical analyses of students' ratings of the listening and speaking skill practice enhancement items yielded similar means (1.22 and 1.28, respectively) and equal median scores (1.00). The cooperative consciousness-raising practice also received equal mean and median scores for the two skills (means = 3.39, medians = 3.00). These results indicate less favorable students' attitudes towards the former method as regards its ability to enhance both listening and speaking skill practices as compared to the latter method.

For the traditional method of instruction, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category involved lack of understanding and knowledge. Within the

affective category, lack of following was reported: interest, appreciation of the English language, and self-confidence. The general category included lack of/insufficient use of English speaking. The English teacher rated this item 1.00. Her explanation/justification was: "Most of the time, activities involve written work, and [they are] copied on the chalkboard. Speaking is practiced only occasionally for dialogs."

These data indicate that listening and speaking skill practices are given little value at best, and no value at all at worst in the traditional classroom. In light of this, students' failure to understand the English language is no surprise. Indeed, the method does not provide them with opportunities to process strings of English sounds and connect them with written codes and meanings. Likewise, students' failure to appreciate this language is rather expected than not. Indeed, appreciation of something that one does not understand but that one is forced to learn rarely occurs.

Similar arguments are reported in the literature. Morley (1991), for example, observes that listening is generally neglected and remains underrated in language classroom programs, although recognition of the importance of its teaching began emerging in the mid-1960s. Apparently, such neglect still dominates in the traditional classroom in this study. As discussed above, lack of understanding would result in the feeling of learning meaninglessness. Engaging students in meaningless learning such as repetitions of the same lessons or topics without knowledge improvement is unlikely to motivate them (Brophy, 1987). Likewise, monotony leads to the cessation of the attendance of happiness to its performance, and means cessation of development and growth (Dewey, 1913/1941/1975). Students in traditional language classrooms often

experience such as a result of the domination of teacher talk and time, leaving little or no room for teacher-student and student-student interactions for the use of the target language (Gaies, 1985).

For the cooperative consciousness-raising approach, the cognitive category included understanding and knowledge gain. Within the affective category, students mentioned motivation, enjoyment, interest inducement, and self-confidence inducement. Within the general category, frequent use of English, presence of multiple strategies, and reciprocal skill reinforcement were reported. The teacher rating of this item was 3.00 with the following justification/explanation: "When starters and movers explain the work to be done in groups, all other [group] members listen [to them]."

These data suggest that the environment provided within the cooperative consciousness-raising promotes intensive and meaningful listening and speaking skill uses. Mutual and reciprocal listening occurs during group activities. Because attainment of group goals is one of the objectives of these activities, it is in the interest of each and all group members to understand and help their peers understand spoken interactions within their group. Given such conditions, learners would have to agree on the meanings of spoken messages conveyed. To reach this common agreement, they would have to decide on the correctness of certain sounds. A way to do this would involve teaching what one knows to others or asking others or the teacher for help. Ultimately, this would result in better understanding of spoken English. Because speaking has to occur for listening to take place, these two skills reinforce each other. Additionally, the data reveal that students experience enjoyment, motivation, and interest in their struggles to

effectively communicate to their peers and comprehend what the latter communicate. When understanding and skill improvement take place, it appears that students gain self-confidence in their use of English.

The literature contains similar arguments. For example, it has been emphasized over and over again that opportunities to meaningfully and purposefully use a target language facilitate its acquisition (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gaies, 1985). Also, low-anxiety language classroom environments are more likely to support learners' learning and enhance their confidence to engage in language skill use (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). This is so because such environments provide allow language learners to make mistakes without any fear of being subject to criticism. Collaborative activities can provide such nurturing, safe, and opportunity-filled learning environments (Bloom, 1978; Dewey, 1938; Gaies, 1985; Glasser, 1985; Johnson et al., 1993; Piaget, 1964, 1965/1966; Slavin, 1995).

Reading skill practice enhancement. Statistical analyses of students' ratings of the reading skill practice enhancement item yielded a mean of 1.50 and median of 1.00 for the traditional method of instruction, and a mean of 3.17 and median of 3.50 for the cooperative consciousness-raising strategy. These results show less favorable students' attitudes towards the former method as regards its ability to enhance reading skill practice compared to the latter.

For the traditional approach, students' justifications/explanations included the following within the cognitive category: lack of understanding and intellectual focus. Little reading practice was reported within the general category. The English teacher

rated this item 2.00 for the traditional method, and gave the following explanation/justification: “[It] Isn’t sufficient.”

These data clearly show that the traditional classroom fails to provide students with opportunities to practice reading. A logical result would be students’ failure to understand English and to focus on learning.

The language literature contains similar arguments. As already mentioned above, language learners are more likely to acquire it when they meaningfully use it. Students, therefore, need to be given the opportunity to practice it for them to learn and understand it (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gaies, 1985). Lack of reading practice, therefore, is likely to result in lack of understanding of written words.

For the cooperative consciousness-raising technique, students’ explanations/justifications within the cognitive category included understanding and knowledge and skill improvement. Within the affective category, motivation and appreciation inducement was mentioned. Within the general category reciprocal skill reinforcement and presence of feedback were indicated. The English teacher gave a rating score of 3.00 to this item with the following explanation/justification: “Mutual member teaching in groups.”

These data indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice provides students opportunities to use English by simultaneously practicing listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Competence in one or more of these skills appears to promote competence in the others, suggesting that these skills reinforce each other. Also, it seems that the more skills students acquire, the more understanding of English they have.

Greater understanding, in turn, can lead to greater motivation to use the skills and greater appreciation of the language, as discussed above.

These findings support claims made in the language literature. Haverson (1991), for example, claims that listening, speaking, reading, and writing processes can be viewed as interconnected and interdependent. In light of this, growth in one may promote growth in another. Likewise, deficiency in one may lead to deficiency in another.

Writing skill practice enhancement. Results of statistical analyses of students' ratings of the writing skill practice enhancement item indicated a mean of 1.61 and median of 1.50 for the traditional method, and a mean of 3.06 and median of 3.00 for the cooperative consciousness-raising method. These results reveal less favorable student attitudes towards the former method as for its ability to enhance writing skill practice compared to the latter.

For the traditional approach, the cognitive category included lack of knowledge and understanding, passive information reception, and lack of improvement. Within the affective category, discouragement and lack of confidence were mentioned. The general category comprised domination of written work. The English teacher's rating of this item was 2.00 for the traditional method. Her explanation/justification reads: "The majority of assignments are written work."

These data indicate that the traditional classroom provides students with some opportunity to write English. This writing opportunity involves mere copying of language written on the chalkboard by the teacher. Apparently, such an opportunity

cannot promote students' learning and understanding of it. Because of this lack of concrete results, students became discouraged.

These arguments concur with claims in the literature. DeVries and Zan (1994), for example, maintain that students' passive reception of input cannot promote learning and understanding. This is so because they are not involved in constructing or reconstructing their knowledge. They tend to rote-memorize information, which leads them to forget it in a very short time because rote-memorized information lacks solid cognitive foundations (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973). Also, when learning emphasizes repetition of correct answers, learners are more likely to refrain from attempting to give answers for fear of making mistakes. In turn, this can cause withdrawal from learning (DeVries & Zan, 1994) or even from school (Soldier, 1992).

For the cooperative consciousness-raising method, students' justifications/explanations within the cognitive category included understanding improvement and noticeable improvement. The affective category included motivation inducement and attracting strategies. The general category involved student participation, meaningful skill use, and reciprocal skill reinforcement. The English teacher's rating of this item was 3.00. The following was her explanation/justification: "They must take notes down during each member's teaching in groups."

Again, these data suggest that the cooperative consciousness-raising strategy provide students with the opportunity to simultaneously practice listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. Also, they indicate reciprocal reinforcement among each other. This leads to greater understanding, which in turn results in motivation

enhancement. Apparent knowledge gain and improvement appears to greater willingness to make efforts in order to learn more, as discussed above.

The literature offers similar claims. DeVries and Zan (1994), for example, contend that when learners actively process input, they construct or reconstruct knowledge. In so doing, they are more likely to learn and understand. Further, nurturing leaning environments are favorable for knowledge acquisition and improvement. This is so because they enable learners to feel free to take risks in the learning process. Further, purposeful language skill practices greatly facilitate and accelerate their acquisition (Gaies, 1985).

Overall, quantitative data obtained from both students' and their English teacher's ratings of questionnaire items indicated more favorable students' attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising practice as compared to the traditional method of instruction. Qualitative data obtained from their rating justifications/explanations involved cognitive, affective, social, and general categories and are summarized in Table 9. The great majority of students and their teacher also reported positive statements in favor of the cooperative consciousness-raising as compared to their traditional English teaching method. The following examples can epitomize students' rating justifications/explanations with regard the former:

The cooperative consciousness-raising is satisfying because there are so many benefits that have already been received/gained (from it).
(ID 107)

Everybody explores [in groups] and several opinions are expressed. So, it's interesting.
(ID 116)

Table 9
Summary of Overall Student Attitude

	Traditional Approach	Cooperative Consciousness-Raising
COGNITIVE		
LEARNING		
Level of difficulty	inaccessibility little/no understanding	challenging understanding active information processing
Learning mode	passive information reception	collaborative inquiry disciplined learning learning facilitation mutual teaching
Expectations	unclear	clear
OUTCOMES		
General	little/no knowledge gain/improvement little/no retention meaningless efforts	knowledge gain/improvement new learning strategies multiple strategies useful knowledge good and sustained retention
Language	little/no language skill gain/improvement	immediate knowledge gain/improvement immediate language skill gain/improvement reciprocal skill reinforcement
AFFECTIVE		
Climate	high anxiety fear of giving "wrong" answer	low anxiety freedom to make errors
Affect	de-motivating discouraging apathy lack of nurture	motivating interesting enjoyable exciting character building self-confidence enhancement
SOCIAL		
Teacher-Student	lecturer-listener designator-designee isolation friction	collaboration
Student-Student		mutual help collaboration talk opportunity
Outcomes		social skill gain/improvement knowledge of others
GENERAL		
Instruction	teacher-centered emphasis on knowledge dispensing domination of written work repetitive teaching differential treatment class = undifferentiated whole	learner-centered emphasis on knowledge construction use of all language skills meaningful use of language equitable treatment class = diverse
Meaningfulness	unclear approach disconnected from other subject matters disconnected from real-life no educational features	clear approach transferable strategies connectedness with real-life educational

If I have been taught with an approach like this one used during the study for all those many, many years I've been studying English, maybe I'd have gone far by now.

(ID 123)

The ideas of the many can reach far, and what I don't know is/are known by others [and vice versa].

(ID 113)

Each student brought his/her own contribution(s) into the explorations.

(Teacher)

The following can summarize students' rating justifications/explanations concerning the latter practice:

There aren't sufficient animation and efforts to fully capture students' hearts. Each individual student cannot take responsibility because [the class] is just an undifferentiated whole. So, it is not attracting.

(ID 118)

Our mistakes aren't corrected so each individual group does whatever it does [without knowing what it's expected to do].

(ID 104)

It is only she (the teacher) that talks and explains there [at a materially and/or intellectually visible spot which is outside my space].

(ID 121)

It's like they work alone, so they are unenthusiastic.

(Teacher)

The English Teacher's Attitudes

The English teacher's attitudes toward the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional method of instruction were measured two types of data: (a) quantitative data obtained from her ratings of 7 items in the Teacher Questionnaire Teacher and Teaching section and (b) qualitative data obtained from her justifications/explanations of the ratings. The following paragraph offer analyses and interpretations of these data.

Quantitative data. Statistical analyses yielded a higher mean score for the cooperative consciousness-raising practice as compared to that of the traditional method. (mean = 2.57, SD = 1.13 for the former, and mean = 1.43, SD = 0.54 for the latter). The median score of the former is 3.00 and that of the latter is 1.00. These results indicate that the English teacher has a more favorable attitude toward the former compared to the latter as related to teaching.

Qualitative data. The qualitative data obtained from the English teacher's rating justifications/explanations are discussed in this section. For the cooperative consciousness-raising practice, she indicated enjoyment in watching students' participation and opinion expression, productive collaboration, meaningful teaching, heart capturing, and promising. For the traditional method, she reported absence of teacher-student collaboration, inability to enthuse students, de-motivating, student passivity, and unproductive practice.

These data suggest that the English teacher does not consider her traditional teaching practice as a valuable teaching tool. Its failure to yield positive student outcomes and to motivate students appears to frustrate her. The data also indicate that she has a desire to have students participate in the learning process because it motivates her. Further, she perceives the absence of collaboration between her and her students as negative. Likewise, to her, students' collaboration among themselves is beneficial, while students' individual work is unproductive. All of the above suggests that teaching is motivating and rewarding when students benefit from it and are motivated to learn.

Similar claims are reported in the educational literature. For example, Clark and Astuto (1994) state that, to teachers, most significant intrinsic rewards are reaching children and witnessing their growth. Also, McLaughlin et al. (1986) found in their research that teachers are frustrated, dissatisfied with themselves, and feel a sense of failure when they are unable to effectively serve students. They tend to exhibit educationally counterproductive behaviors in an attempt to minimize their feelings of failure.

In sum, the English teacher attitude toward the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is more favorable compared to her traditional method as related to teaching. This more positive attitude is related to teaching enjoyment and reward as results of students' growth and motivation to learn.

Taken together, the results of Study One indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is more effective than the traditional method of instruction. This effectiveness was indicated by its better ability to positively affect students' performances in their communicative abilities in American English requestive behaviors. Also, students' attitudes toward it as related to learning were found to be significantly more favorable compared to their attitudes toward the traditional method used in their English classroom. Likewise, the attitude of the English teacher toward it as related to teaching was more favorable compared to her attitude toward her traditional teaching method. Further, justifications/explanations provided by the informants indicated its greater effectiveness with regard the following 15 learning-related elements: Amount of student voluntary participation, student liking of approach, student liking of

activities, student liking of group work, student understanding of lesson, relatedness of current knowledge and input enhancement, student information retention, approach and improvement of students' education quality, student motivation to learn enhancement, student achievement increase, student creativity enhancement, amount of listening practice, amount of speaking practice, amount of reading practice, amount of writing practice. Additionally, its greater effectiveness was found in the following four teaching-related elements: teacher liking of approach, teacher liking of activities, teaching interest enhancement, teaching motivation enhancement. The teacher's confidence, challenge, and concern in approach use were similar for the two teaching practices. However, she indicated that there could be material problems regarding the cooperative consciousness-raising practice.

These findings indicate that the cooperative consciousness-raising, an innovative teaching practice, possesses strong technical soundness. The following section presents analyses and interpretations of Study Two data as for participants' reactions to its introduction into the Ambohitsaraianana High School in consideration of the social soundness of the innovation.

Study Two

Study Two of this research investigated how participants reacted to the introduction of the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching technique into school. As such, it looked at the soundness of the technique as related to the social realities of participants. It utilized an emergent design via triangulation of data from multiple sources. Both insider and outsider perspectives were employed. Three major themes

emerged from the investigation: (a) The Confrontation-Public Censure Chain, which includes three sub-themes: Sticking Together Like a Rock, The Public conflict, and Splitting Like Sand; (b) Desirability of the Innovation; (c) The Blessing Ritual; and (d) The Cooperative Consciousness-Raising as an Effective Technique for Concern Arousal.

Theme 1: The Confrontation-Public Censure Chain

As indicated in the portrayals and in the methodology section, the present research was conducted in Ambohitsaraianana, rather than at another place in Madagascar, in response to the request made by students' parents to look at education for school improvement. This request was certainly triggered by a concern(s), problem(s), or both. Although the nature and scope of the problem was not directly revealed, it appeared that it had two dimensions: technical and social.

The technical dimension of the problem apparently concerned the high school failure to produce at least acceptable results as for students' achievements. Indeed, the results of Study One presented and discussed above clearly indicate that the teaching approaches used by participating teachers were unable to help students learn. Although the participants did not relate students' poor achievements to their teaching practices at the beginning of the study, they did recognize the existence of this problem. For example, the results of 12th graders at the national examinations were very poor (see Table 10). Because of this, there appeared to be a general consensus among them concerning the need for a solution prior to the study. This perceived need appears related to two dimensions: students' attributes and teachers' helplessness.

Students' attributes were cognitive and affective. Concerning the former, my participants overwhelmingly expressed that the school's failure was related to students' low academic achievements. For example, during the first meeting, participants mentioned "students' low achievements" (see portrayal, p. 96). Mr. Joro made the same statement during our meeting with the authorities who opened the study and in his diary. Ms. Raivo wrote in her diary that students "couldn't speak English, couldn't understand whatever was said to them, even the simplest everyday [classroom] language" during the first student training session. Ms. Manga mentioned that students' English knowledge was very low (interview 1: Manga).

Table 10

Percentage success rates at the high school national exam from the 1989-1990 to 1998-1999

Academic Year	Success Rate: %
1989-1990	16.18
1990-1991	16.13
1991-1992	21.43
1992-1993	18.60
1993-1994	21.74
1994-1995	09.62
1995-1996	06.38
1996-1997	20.00
1997-1998	29.27

Concerning students' affective attributes, almost all participants revealed that, "students are really de-motivated and lack interest in school" (see portrayal, p. 96), for example). Mr. Joro indicates in his diary that students "are desperate." Ms. Manga stated that "students aren't there at all," that is, "aren't focused on learning." Mr. Nasolo claimed that, "students are lazy."

In light of the above students' attributes, many of my participants expressed their inability to influence students cognitively and affectively (see portrayals). Mr. Joro indicated, "even though various solutions had been sought, the results obtained were unsatisfactory" (Diary: Joro). Ms. Manga confessed, "I don't know what to do with students, I have great difficulty dealing with their different levels" and "I am not satisfied (with the way I teach) because there are things that I am unable to bring to students" (Interview 1: Manga). In addition, "there has been no in-service staff-development for high school teachers (Diary: Joro).

All of the above is evidence of a desperate need for innovation at the Ambohitsaraianana High School in order to improve students' achievements, and enhance their motivation and interest in learning. These perceptions were certainly shared by students' parents and constituted reasons for their request to look at education. Therefore, there was apparently a general agreement among my participants and the local study initiators on the need for innovation.

Existence of need alone, however, does not guarantee that school personnel will engage in innovation. The program introduced has to have "relevance" related to "what it *really* has to offer teachers and students" (Fullan, 1991, p. 63, italics added) and the

school as a whole. In the present case, the relevance of the innovation, unlike need perception, could only be evaluated during the process rather than at the beginning. It is suggested that there were two types of relevance considered by participants: technical relevance and social relevance. The interplay between these two types of relevance seems to have played a significant role as for the fate of the study as will become clearer later in this section. Therefore, my participants, in evaluating the relevance of the study, appear to operate within both the technical framework and the social framework. I, on my side, exclusively operated within the technical framework. That is, to me, the “problem in education” that triggered the request of students’ parents was primarily, if not exclusively, technical. For my participants, it appears that it was both technical and social. These points are important in that they seem to be major driving forces during the study as a whole. It is suggested that the two dimensions were actually interconnected and impacted each other.

Before discussing the major sub-themes in this section, it is necessary to present a general view of key elements concerning Malagasy cultural values in order to facilitate the explanations and interpretations presented.

As noted by researchers such as Keenan (1976), confrontation avoidance is the general interactional norm in the Malagasy community. People are expected to avoid confronting others as much as they could. What makes this norm intricate is the great variety of behaviors that are categorized as confrontations. These behaviors can even include behaviors such as directly pointing at a wrongdoer (Keenan, 1976), singling out individuals from a group, and catching someone off-guard (Keenan & Ochs, 1979).

These, and many others, are avoided as much as possible, mainly when they are not based on socially acceptable foundations because they can bring shame and dishonor to the individuals involved, their families, the community in general, or all of these. This is so because of the value given to collective responsibility: Each individual is responsible for the welfare and preservation of the group's dignity (Keenan, 1974) because he or she carries the group's identity (Raharinirina, 1998).

The norm of collective responsibility is founded on the Malagasy philosophy which "stresses the moral implications of all action, for a constant interpenetration of the two worlds" of the ancestors and this world "imposes a strict responsibility for right behavior" (Allen, 1995, p. 132). As such, this philosophy envisages a cyclical worldview, as reflected in Dahl's (1995) "When The Future Comes From Behind," revealing "ever-repeated cycles revolving in an endless rhythm" (p. 201): Individuals have to behave with strict responsibility because today's actions will be past tomorrow, and when the past catches them tomorrow, it will bring back with it their then actions, affecting their future lives. Bad behaviors will result in bad future lives, and good behaviors will result in good future lives.

Still in compliance with the norm of direct confrontation avoidance, some people prefer asking someone else to play the role of intermediary even in cases where they are not the primary initiators of the confrontation: Disputes are "often resolved by intermediaries" who are "invited by some person associated with both sides to resolve the dispute" (Keenan, 1974, p. 128). Because of the possible high social costs of confrontational behaviors, severe public censure is likely to be used whenever someone

unnecessarily confronts someone else directly (Keenan, 1974). A public censure, however, can in turn constitute a direct confrontation, which in turn would trigger another public censure. This would happen if either side perceives the other side's behavior as an unfair punishment to his behavior. This is usually the reason of the preference for having someone else intervene as an intermediary mentioned above because the weight of fairness is primarily dependent upon personal evaluation, thus, it is subject to disagreement or controversy. In such a case, an intermediary, by being "some person associated with both sides" in conflict (Keenan, 1974, p. 128) is expected to be fair with both sides. Therefore, he/she is invited to avoid or stop the chain of confrontation-public censure. This succession or chain of "confrontation-public censure" seems apparent in my participants' behaviors as is presented in the following section.

Sticking Together Like a Rock

Related to the chain reaction introduced above, it is suggested that the theme Sticking Together Like a Rock corresponds to the public censure part of the chain at the time of the study introduction. It is a section of a Malagasy proverb related to the value put on collaboration and mutual help. As such, it indicates a collaborative endeavor which consists of staying tight together to form as firm a block as possible so that nobody would be able to shake or break it into pieces. To my knowledge and from my own experience, this strategy is generally used as a defense mechanism when external forces or agents are perceived as potential threats to the group's unity. It appears that my participants used this strategy, mainly at the early stages of the study as will be explained in the following segment.

As mentioned above, the reason for the choice of Ambohitsaraianana as the site of the present study was the fact that students' parents asked the Senator to look at education. The results obtained in Study One, as well as the students' results on the national high school examinations from 1989 to 1999 displayed in Table 10, indicate that a major reason for the request to be related to technical issues concerning the high school as already mentioned. Indeed, these results exhibit very poor students' achievements, reflecting very poor teaching practices, to say the least. A key aspect that participants were considering in order to estimate the relevance and appropriateness of conducting the study, particularly the introduction of the teaching approach as related to their specific situation was certainly its technical soundness, or "technical rationality" in Miles's (1993) term (p. 220).

Another key aspect considered by participants for the estimation of the relevance and appropriateness of carrying out the study appears to be its social soundness or rationality, which parallels Fullan's (1991) "subjective reality" (p. 42). Any change involves subjective realities of participants, and understanding these "different realities" provides valuable information to explain change in its whole picture (p. 44). The following segment provides explanations aimed at the understanding of the social rationality as a criterion for relevance evaluation perceived through participants' behaviors. The scenario at the official opening of the study can be particularly informative to this end and is used as a means to depict the social dynamics involved.

Among the key factors affecting change initiation and implementation are local, including the district, community, principal, and teachers (Fullan, 1991). The following

individuals opened this research: The Senator of the region, the Head of the Department of Education, the President of the Region, and the president of the students' parents' association (see portrayal, p. 91). In this context, the Senator, as an individual elected by the people, can be viewed as the representative of the community of the whole region of Ambohitsaraianana. The President of the Region can be considered as a governmental representative. The Head of the Department of the Region, as such, is at the top position of the regional educational system. The president of the students' parents' association represented this body. The Principal was also present, as well as teachers. Of significance to the present argument is the absence of the Head of the City of Ambohitsaraianana, who is a family member of Mr. Nasolo's, one of the key players in the present research (see portrayal, p. 91). The roles played by each of these individuals within the social setting of the study can help decipher the social element within the problem which had led to the conduct of the study in Ambohitsaraianana, a social element assumed to be linked to participants' behaviors.

By the very fact that the above individuals conducted the official opening of the study, it is reasonable to contend that they, as individuals and as members of their own respective constituencies, were the primary initiators of the study at the local level. Also, as members of the Ambohitsaraianana community as a whole, they had lived common experiences and possessed their common history. Within this context, it is fair to maintain that the relationships among themselves as individuals and among their personal constituencies differed depending on who and what constituencies were involved. In other words, some had good relationships while others did not have such good

relationships. Nonetheless, within the context of the official opening of the study, they apparently joined together to exhibit their consensus and joint effort to support and approve of the study. At least, their joint action seems to convey that the request made by the students' parents was founded on valid and legitimate concerns. In other words, the students' parents, as a group, appear to have problems with the school people, suggesting an unpleasant relationship between the two groups.

Similarly, the school personnel, including teachers and administrative staff members, were likely to have different types of relationships with other individuals and their respective constituencies within the whole Ambohitsaraianana community, including the primary initiators mentioned above. Consistent with the above argument is the great possibility that they had developed a sense of togetherness learned and acquired from their common school experiences. In other words, they came to the study as a pre-existing group as opposed to an ad hoc group formed for a specific innovation introduction. As such, they can be viewed as a group distinct from other groups within the whole community.

Given the confrontational nature of innovation introduction (Evans, 1996; Fullan, 1991), given the general social norm of confrontation avoidance discussed above, and given the nature of the primary initiators' joint action mentioned above, my participants could have perceived the official opening ceremony as highly confrontational. It is argued that, although the technical soundness of the innovation was of great importance to my participants, its social soundness was as important, if not more, particularly at the initial stages of the study. As the change literature reports, clarity is essential for the

success of change (e.g., Evans, 1996; Fullan, 1991). In the present research, it appeared that clarity, like the relevance discussed above, concerned the social and technical components of the innovation being introduced. In other words, it appears that my participants were particularly searching for the clear motive(s) related to their social world, besides the technical motive(s). The following statements in participants' diaries support this argument:

The state of affair is already becoming clearer to me... Indeed, the state of affair was fuzzy at the beginning.
(Nasolo: Diary, 06-11-99)

There was a time when we were thinking (and even discussing): 'Maybe, Sahoby is getting a great amount of money for what she is doing now'
(Holisoa: Diary, 06-11-99)

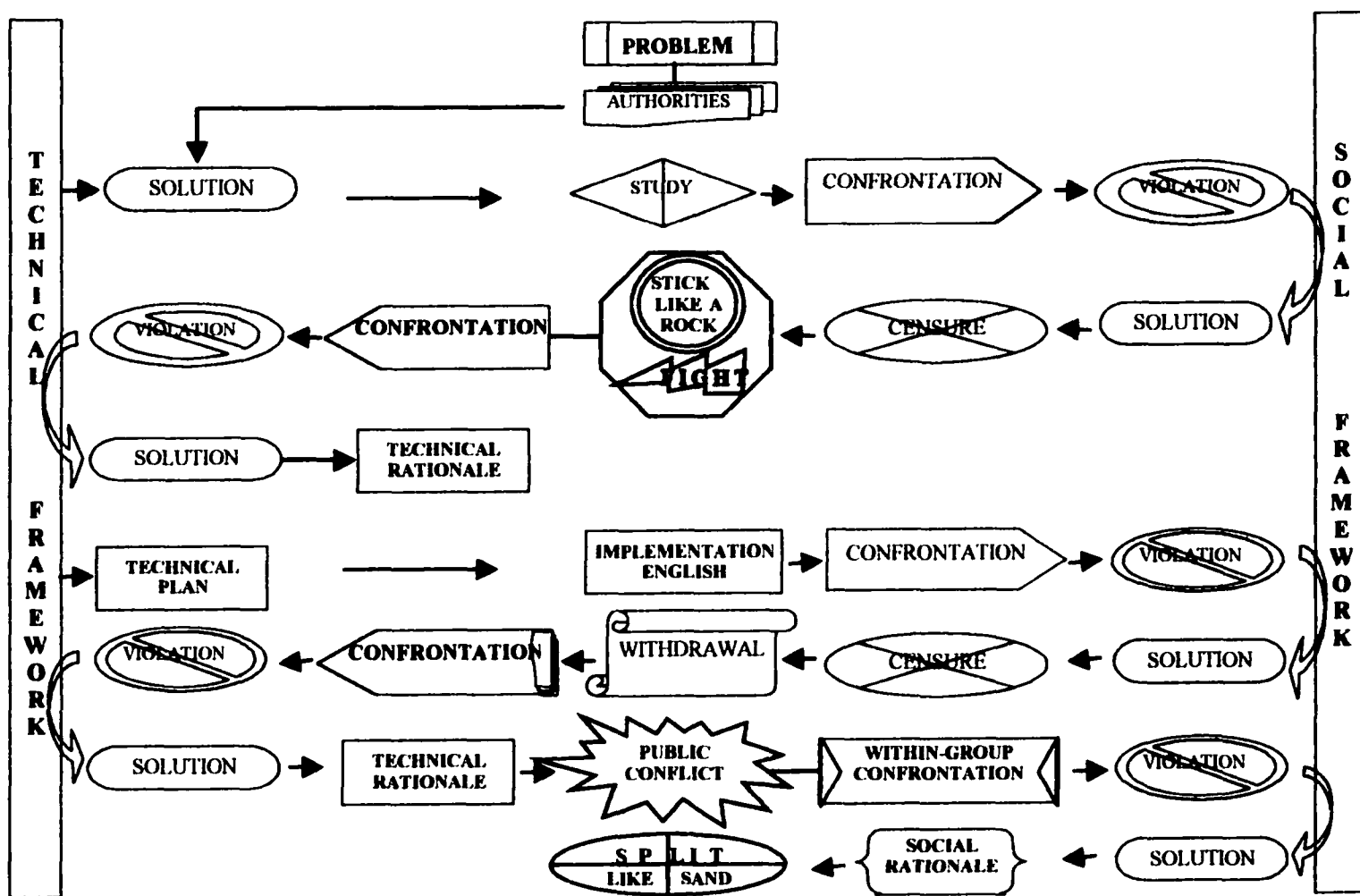
Based on the above, it is suggested that participants could have thought that a main reason for me to conduct the study in their community was to resolve social problems. For this, it could be that I was *paid*. If this was case, it would constitute a clear violation of social norms in the community, consequently, the study would lack social relevance. Indeed, there is a sharp distinction made between *vahiny*—outside group persons, and *havana*—inside group persons, in the community of Ambohitsaraianana, like in many areas in Madagascar. These two kinds of individuals have different statuses, thus, they are expected to perform different roles in the community. That is, there are things that *vahiny*—outside group persons, are not allowed to do. Included in those is “putting one's nose into other groups' lives,” which is intrusion. The following support this explanation: When Ms. Manga decided to withdraw from the study, and when I proposed that I could contact some other teacher

from Antananarivo, Ms. Raivo's immediate reaction was a firm "No! No outsider" (see portrayal, p. 112). Her concern was probably such that she could not help but referring to it in her diary: "Whoever can do it will make efforts to do so because bringing someone from outside is bad" (Raivo: diary: 05-22-99). Also, if it was true that I was asked to conduct the study to resolve *internal* social problems without the school group knowing about it, it would even be more in violation of the confrontation avoidance norm because it would mean catching them off-guard. In order to know the truth, it is but logical for them to verify their assumption, or doubt.

On the other hand, because I was just told about the request made by students' parents, I primarily focused my actions on the technical soundness of my study. Therefore, there appears to be two different frameworks used as sources of rationale leading to the Confrontation-Public Censure Chain: I primarily drew my explanations from a technical framework while participants primarily used a social framework to inform their behaviors. This appears true particularly at the initial stages of the study. The suggested process involved is exhibited in Figure 5.

The two frameworks in Figure 5 are situated on the right and left sides. The problem that triggered the request of students' parents is placed at the top and shown as having both a technical and social dimensions. As explained above, the first dimension concerns the school's inability to produce good achievement results. The second dimension is embodied in those who initiated the study. The latter included the individuals who led the official opening above and myself. At its introduction, the study then had two dimensions, the social dimension being indicated by the arrow originating

Figure 5. Confrontation-Public Censure Chain.



from the local initiator box, and the technical dimension being indicated by the arrow originating from the technical framework.

Using the above argument as a basis, the introduction of the study could have been perceived by the whole school group as an act of directly confronting them. Out of the social norm of direct confrontation avoidance, they would consider it as a violation of this norm. They then used the social framework to draw an appropriate solution, which is *public censure*. It seems that this censure was manifested by their *sticking together*. It appears that this censuring strategy also functioned as a defense strategy. It would be an indication of the group's cohesion to resist this external threat which could jeopardize its identity and image. It seems that there were two major tactics utilized to execute this strategy: collaborative questioning and polarization.

Collaborative questioning. As indicated in the portrayals, almost all participants asked questions during the first sessions of the study. Often, their questions were repetitive and emotionally loaded, and sounded like long chains of utterances. In addition, there was a collaborative support indicated by choral reinforcement of others' defensive statements.

Polarization. The Malagasy language possesses linguistic devices which can be used to indicate polarization of two parties. These devices can be found in controversial exchanges of disagreement as Keenan (1973) observes. The pronoun subject *izahay*, that is, we inclusive of the addressee, the pronoun object *anay*, that is us, and the possessive adjective *-nay*, that is, our, are examples of such linguistic means. When a speaker uses *izahay*, he/she indicates that the hearer(s) is/are not included in the group to which he/she

(the speaker) belongs. My participants used this same device to exclude others from their group. For example, during her first interview, Ms. Raivo utilized this pronoun as she referred to the group of teachers to which she belonged, and you (plural) to refer to another group of individuals when she recounted teachers' "fight" against "unending" and "unfair" changes introduced into school and to be implemented by teachers.

Likewise, Mr. Nasolo employed the pronoun izahay--we exclusive of the addressee--many times mainly when reporting that they--the participants--had a meeting, and they--the participants--said this or that about Sahoby's study/activity or Sahoby herself, an individual *outside* the group of participants.

Another polarizing linguistic means used by participants was related to locative particles reflecting distance between individuals or groups. Still during her first interview, Ms. Raivo used the locative particles any and ao when referring to *another* group of individuals as opposed to *her* group. As mentioned above, in Malagasy, "the foundation of the system of locative substitutes is the fundamental opposition between the place where the speaker is and all other places which are outside his" (Rajaona, 1972, p. 616). Both any and ao denote a place physically or intellectually invisible or vague, the former being very far and the latter closer. Similarly, Mr. Nasolo used the particle any Amerika to refer to the United States of America, "there, a very far and invisible place outside the place where I am, where this approach works," and "aty--here in Ambohitsaraianana--at this close and visible place where I am, where this approach doesn't work. It is *only* in the United States of America that this approach works and not in Ambohitsaraianana."

Similar observations are reported in the change literature. Schein (1985), for example, states that, a group which has developed a sense of togetherness, tends to exhibit an image of solidarity when facing a challenge as a group defense, survival, or both. The more threat it perceives, the more it is likely to engage in collaborative resistance.

In sum, it appears that participants engaged in collaborative defense by sticking together as a cohesive and unshakable group, mainly at the beginning of the study. This was conveyed by means of collaborative questioning and mutual support, and of polarizing linguistic devices to jointly censure the confrontation they appear to perceive in the change introduction. It seems that the combination of the confrontational nature of change introduction and the social norm of direct confrontation avoidance had a cumulative effect that intensified the confrontational perceptions of participants, resulting in intensified collaborative defensive behaviors at the early stages of the study introduction.

The Public Conflict

As indicated in the portrayals, Ms. Manga temporarily withdrew from the study. Her decision came right after the announcement of the beginning of student training in English. By the same social norm of confrontation avoidance mentioned above, it is believed that Ms. Manga could have perceived herself as being singled out of the group of teachers since student training was to take place in English first, and in other subject areas later, if time allowed. Singling out an individual from a group is an act of

confrontation (Keenan, 1973). Therefore, Ms. Manga preferred to withdraw. This was the origin of the Public Conflict sub-theme discussed in this section.

To repeat, participants in the study appear to use the social framework to inform their actions in search for an answer to whether or not the study was conducted for resolving social problems or issues related to their group. I, on my part, exclusively utilized the technical framework. As indicated above, a public censure can constitute a confrontational act although it is primarily used in response to a confrontational act initiated by someone else. As shown in Figure 5, when an action is initiated and directed toward the social framework side, this action would be evaluated as a confrontation based on social norms. It would be censured and become a confrontation directed toward the technical framework side. Once in this side, corresponding responses are exclusively technical. Therefore, the sticking-together-like-a-rock strategy, the suggested response to the introduction of the study, can in turn be regarded as a confrontation. Figure 5 indicates that this confrontation is on the left section, that is, it is directed toward the technical framework. Because of my use of the technical framework as a basis of my actions, I utilized the technical rationale of the study to explain my decision to have chosen it, which was, the teaching practice can be a better alternative to the traditional teaching methods then used by teachers. As such, I did not use public censure in response to the confrontation, the usual response to a direct confrontation within the social framework. Rather, I used a technical response. My technical responses, then, would stop the chain confrontation-public censure each time there is a confrontational censure utilized by participants. Indeed, technical responses would not convey social

features that would permit use of public censuring responses because they do not violate any social norm. That is, a socially-based action, such as public censure, would be irrelevant if used in response to technical explanations. It is suggested that my technical responses to confrontation censuring behaviors were employed by participants as tools to verify whether or not I was acting to resolve social issues on behalf of local initiators of the study. After several instances of such incidents, chances were that they came to realize that the social dimension of the problem was not my focus, that is, it was of no relevance to the study, at least to my vantage point.

However, by the very private nature of change (Fullan, 1991), the likelihood is that my participants came to this realization at different times and in different ways. It is contended that these within-group differences were major factors that triggered the Public Conflict. Apparently, the conflict came about as a result of disagreement within the group of participants as will be maintained in the following section.

Ms. Manga's withdrawal was triggered by the introduction of the implementation of the study in the English language (see portrayal, p. 111). As indicated in Figure 5, this introduction originates from the technical framework as it was part of the technical plan of the. Additionally, participants knew about this plan from the very beginning. When Ms. Manga withdrew, two different interpretations could have emerged: Some participants could have considered her withdrawal as a legitimate censuring response to the introduction of the implementation, whereas others could have viewed it irrelevant, illegitimate, or both. Indeed, there appeared to be a consensus as for the adoption of the sticking together like a rock response to the introduction of the study as a confrontation.

In that case, participants certainly connected it to the local study initiators giving them, as a group, a reasonable basis for their joint censuring action. Ms. Manga's withdrawal, however, is very different at least in two grounds. First, I was the initiator of the implementation introduction. As such, it was exclusively technical given my technically-grounded behaviors presented above. Second, the implementation was known to take place ahead of time, suggesting a consensus in its adoption. That is, it should have come to nobody's surprise. Using a socially-informed response to its introduction would therefore be inappropriate because there is no violation of a social norm. This is suggested to be the perception of some participants: Ms. Manga's withdrawal was an *initial* confrontation rather than a censure triggered by another confrontation. This confrontation was directed at me as the initiator of the implementation, and at the school group as a whole because it would *disrupt* something beneficial for the whole group. Consistent with each individual's responsibility to preserve the dignity of his or her group discussed above, this in turn could bring *shame* to the group because, Ms. Manga, a member of the school group, carries the group identity. Other participants, because of different social concerns, however, could have viewed Ms. Manga's initiated confrontation as valid and legitimate. Therefore, the former individuals responded by using the corresponding social solution, which is public censure to the withdrawal. The latter participants, on the other hand, appeared to abide by the Malagasy general norm of mutual help in support of Ms. Manga. Indeed, *havana*—kinspersons, have the obligation to come to help when their inside-group members are in moments of need (Bloch, 1971). The following paragraphs present support for this argument.

Some participants appeared to publicly censure Ms. Manga's withdrawal by stating their disapproval in public and by putting pressure on her. For example, Ms. Lala indicated in public that, "there's no reason for Ms. Manga to withdraw" (see portrayal, p. 112). Likewise, Ms. Raivo voiced that, "there is no one bit of a reason why Ms. Manga doesn't want to do it. She doesn't have to do anything but follow instructions" (see portrayal, p. 112). Her frustration was such that she decided to talk to her brother: "I have toddled on her (to the Head of Department of Education) because she's irritating me!" Still others, like Ms. Joice promised that, "I will talk to her. We have good relationships so I'm confident that she will listen to me" (Researcher Notebook).

On the other hand, others openly expressed their support for Ms. Manga's behavior, suggesting their perception of her behavior as legitimate and valid. For example, Mr. Nasolo explained, "I don't blame Manga for students' poor performances" (see portrayal, p. 113), and "She has problems! She has her problems" (see portrayal, p. 112).

The point being made here is the following: Disagreement among participants appeared increasing because of their shift from common social concerns of the group at the beginning of the study, to their personal social concerns as the study proceeded. This increasing shift is believed to be resulting from increasing realization by participants that the study was primarily built on technical rationale, at least as related to me. Others, like Mr. Nasolo, appear to operate within their personal concerns grounded more on social than on technical aspects of the study.

Splitting Like Sand

After the Public Conflict, participants seemed to go their own way. Polarizing devices that indicated the *oneness* of the group utilized during the initial stages of the study above were replaced by devices referring to others as individuals, as opposed to members of the school group. Mr. Nasolo, for example, stopped using polarizing devices such as *izahay*—we, exclusive of the addressee, and referred to Ms. Manga by her name. He did the same with individuals outside the school group. Likewise, Ms. Raivo referred to Ms. Manga as “the person in charge of this subject area” and “the teacher (who is the) owner of the subject area.” (Raivo: diary: 05-22-99). Also, she began reporting to me problems with other individuals, a behavior that she had never exhibited before the Public Conflict.

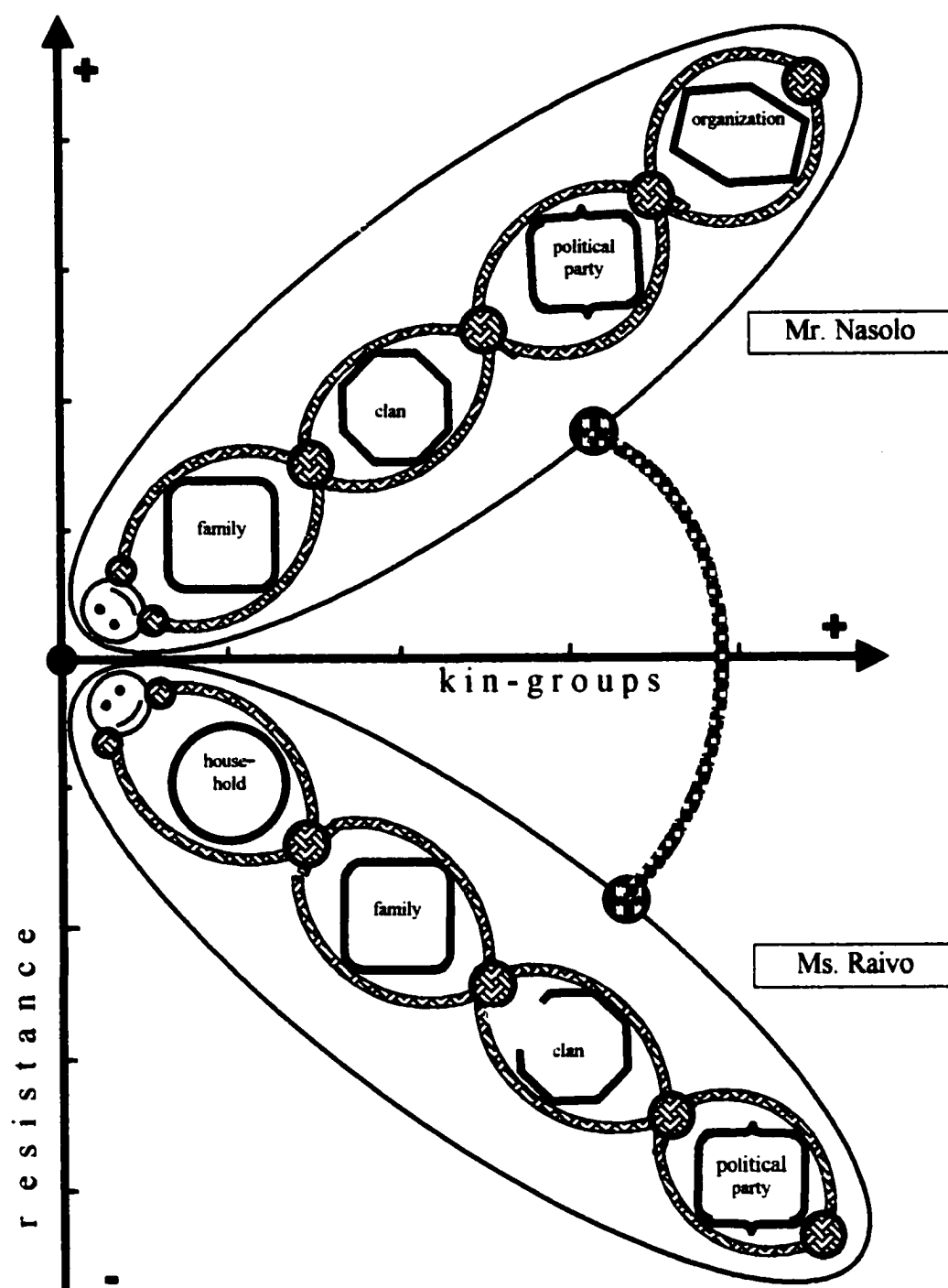
In sum, participants in the present study appeared to adhere to their social norm of direct confrontation avoidance. It is suggested that this adherence generated a Confrontation-Public Censure chain each time a confrontational behavior occurred. At the initial stages of the study introduction, it seems that participants a Sticking-Together-Like-a-Rock posture as a public censure strategy. My use of the technical framework as a basis for responses to confrontational behaviors initiated by participants apparently helped stop such chains. Ultimately, it brought about a disagreement among the participants leading to the Public Conflict, and ending with the breaking of the group, that is, Splitting-Like-Sand. This is consistent with the Malagasy common proverb *izay mitambatra vato, izay misaraka fasika*, that is, “those who stick together are like a rock, and those who split up are like sand.” Once the group was split, each participant seems

to go his/her own way. It is argued that this separation was connected to each participant's personal concern in relation to his/her own social realities. Apparently, these personal social realities informed participants' desirability of the innovation, as discussed in the following section.

Theme 2: Desirability of the Innovation

Desirability of the innovation is defined as the correlation between perceived degree of resistance and group memberships. To repeat, the literature is clear and consistent concerning characteristics of change conducive to school personnel's involvement in and adoption of innovation. Perception of need, relevance, and advantage of an innovation are crucial for its initiation, adoption, or both to be accepted by school practitioners (Fullan, 1991). The innovative approach introduced through this study appears to meet these conditions, as discussed above. Interestingly enough, Mr. Nasolo and Ms. Manga tended to exhibit what is referred to as tripping behaviors in this research, to use a term utilized and explained by Mr. Nasolo's group during the study (i.e., "tripping competition," see portrayal, p. 105). These are defined as "behaviors which can contribute to the abandonment of a planned activity or to the delay of the completion of an on-going activity." On the other hand, Ms. Raivo tended to display behaviors which will be referred to as promoting behaviors. These are defined as "behaviors which can assist in the adoption of a planned activity or facilitation of the completion of an on-going activity." Data indicate that participants' desirability of the innovation appears to be a correlation between these two types of behaviors and perceived degree of resistance (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Innovation Desirability and Kinship Realities.



Both the tripping behaviors and promoting behaviors tended to be manifested along the following dimensions: technical and socio-affective. The technical dimension concerns collaboration or lack of collaboration in data supply or willingness to find solutions to problems. Socio-affective dimensions relate to perceived attempts or intentions to impact emotional or social attributes. Behaviors of each of the participant cases will be discussed and analyzed in relation to these two dimensions.

The Case of Mr. Nasolo: Tripping as Prevention From Kin-Groups' Cumulative Losses

Technical dimension. Concerning the technical dimension, any time the beginning of an activity was announced or known, Mr. Nasolo tended to stop it. This was true whether the activity involved the high school or other schools. For example, right after the first meeting with the high school personnel, that is, when the beginning date of the Teacher Training was known, Mr. Nasolo said

We all work hard over here. Teaching hours are already too many. A teacher has just had a miscarriage, so, you, think carefully about it (passive imperative):
Where can a study be scheduled within these (circumstances)?

While I understand and agree that most teachers “constantly feel the critical shortage of time” (Fullan, 1991, p. 33), my participating teachers’ teaching loads averaged 12 weekly hours, with some teaching only for 8 hours. On top of that, participants themselves planned the study schedule based on their agreed free times. Further, the school administrative staff was ready to make any adjustment whenever necessary. Based on these, it is reasonable to view Mr. Nasolo’s words as words of discouragement so that the High School Teacher Training would not begin.

Similarly, when the beginning date of the training workshops for the elementary public school teachers was known, Mr. Nasolo came to tell me

these [activities] can't be done by elementary school teachers. Their knowledge level is too low, as you know (passive voice). So how can these be done by them?

Then, he went to *warn* (my term) the elementary school principal that

what Sahoby makes us do is really, really difficult to do. I haven't been able to do it until now, and yet it was given to us a while ago! (Researcher Notebook)

Again, I interpret Mr. Nasolo's behaviors as attempts to prevent the elementary teachers' training from taking place. Indeed, the elementary teachers' high ability to deal with planned activities disconfirmed Mr. Nasolo's warnings. Apparently, he discouraged both the elementary principal and me. If either one or both of us could be influenced, then, the elementary teacher training would not occur.

Likewise, when the student training was announced, Mr. Nasolo stated that

the kids aren't going to do these (activities) because they don't have motivation, these can't be done by the kids because their English knowledge is very low, and I don't blame Ms. Manga for that.

Here again, I interpret Mr. Nasolo's words as attempts to stop the Student Training and the innovation implementation.

The same behaviors were also observable during ongoing activities. Evaluating the *cooperative puzzle* activity during the first teacher training session, Mr. Nasolo said with disdain

Is it these junk games that are to be given to students? Nonsense!

Also, similar behaviors are reflected in his diary, such as in the following statement:

Crappy pieces of paper to assemble to give a picture of Madagascar.
(Nasolo: diary 05-05-99)

Likewise, during the first three training sessions, he tended to divert the focus of activities to problems relating to my use of the Malagasy language although all participants had agreed on using it as the medium of communication. In fact, half of his diary records consists of an essay about the Malagasy language, its use, word translation. Also included is a list of 52 French words whose corresponding Malagasy words, according to him, need to be found. This is followed by a list of seven Malagasy words whose equivalents in foreign languages were to be found (Nasolo: diary: 05-08-99; 05-12-99).

Additionally, more often than not, he viewed activity instructions as *gibberish* (see portrayal, p. 106). Further, when he discovered that the elementary teachers were working hard on their trial materials, he literally threatened the elementary principal.

These behaviors evidently delayed the progress of the study because tremendous time was devoted to discussions and explanations of problems unrelated to the technical rationale of the study, such as the use of the Malagasy language, and criticisms for which he, himself, could not find any foundation. Also, they clearly constituted obstacles to the progress of activities being undertaken, both at the elementary school and high school.

Socio-affective dimension. Concerning the socio-affective dimension, several times, Mr. Nasolo addressed me in public as *ialahy*, a marked form of the singular second personal pronoun *ianao* (you-- singular) whose usage “expresses a friendship-colored

superiority, or a superiority strongly colored by anger or indignation,” and whose use “in public... is displaced.” That is, its use in such contexts is socially inappropriate (Rajaona, 1972, p. 611). I view his use of this term as an intimidation and put-down device. Also, he often scared me of the existence of *strange evil creatures* (my term) existing in Ambohitsaraianana. In addition, he directly confronted me many times. He even threatened me. Further, he broke a taboo by wishing me to *fall ill*. These behaviors can be reasonably viewed as strategies to negatively affect me socially and affectively. Indeed, should I become ill, I would be unable to carry out my study to completion. Likewise, should I become fearful enough, I would *flee away* from the site, and the result would be the same: My study would not come to completion.

The question is then to know why Mr. Nasolo acted the way he did. I will turn to the literature to offer an outsider perspective.

The literature emphasizes the important role played by individuals’ “subjective world” (Fullan, 1991) or “multiple realities” (Lighthall, 1973, p. 255) in their perceptions of innovations: the more the loss perceived, the more the resistance exhibited. Likewise, the more the gain perceived, the less the resistance exhibited. As Fullan (1991) contends, how an innovation is introduced is crucial in individuals’ decision making. This appears true for my participants. A look at how kinship reality system generally functions in Madagascar and as related to demographic information of the above participants can shed light to the phenomenon.

In Madagascar, people define their own identities through kinship and locality (Allen, 1995) called “*fihavanana*” or “consanguinity.” It has multifaceted additional

relationships with the concepts of community, solidarity, and sociability, among others (Bloch, 1989, p. 140). Additionally, “the Merina only envisage moral relations as kinship” (Bloch, 1989, p. 172). The concepts of *havana*—kinspersons, vs. *vahiny*—strangers/foreigners, are very important to individuals. Classification of individuals as either *havana* or *vahiny* varies depending on each individual or group. The ancestors and their descents play an important role in the lives of Malagasy in general. So does the ancestral land, the land-of-the-ancestors (Bloch, 1989). Each individual considered as *havana* is expected to show “personal kinship loyalties” (Allen, 1995, p. 130) and subject to “a strict responsibility for right behavior” (p.132). In other words, *havana* are expected to defend and preserve their groups’ honor and dignity, and carry the image and identity of their groups, as already introduced above.

As a reminder, my study was officially opened by the Senator, the Head of the Regional Administration, and the Head of the Regional Department of Education (see portrayal, p. 91). The Mayor of the Ambohitsaraiaiana City was absent.

Mr. Nasolo’s demographic information indicates that he belongs to the same clan as the Mayor of the City. He claimed that members of this clan are *tompon-tany*, that is, masters/owners of the land. He was also a member of a political party linked to his clan. Further, at the time of the study, he was the local president of a Malagasy-French association, which also has connections with his clan. Further, he was a candidate for the Senate at the last election, like Ms. Raivo and the Senator.

Based on the above, it is very likely that Mr. Nasolo, Ms. Raivo, and the Senator engaged in exchanges filled with animosity toward each other, at least through their

political parties, during the election campaigns. As a result, there was a high chance of frictions, conflicts, or both, between them as individuals or as members of their political parties prior to the study. Mr. Nasolo could have brought these conflicts or frictions to the study. Thus, his perception of the innovation could have been negatively affected by various elements related to both the Senator and Ms. Raivo. In other words, Mr. Nasolo, could have perceived the completion or success of my study both as losses at two levels: Loss related to Ms. Raivo and her kin groups, and loss related to the Senator and his kin groups.

At the first level, improvement of education would decrease his chances of becoming the Head of the Regional Department of Education, or the principal of the high school, two positions that he had claimed for him (see portrayal, p. 130). This is so because, at least, he would have fewer reasons to claim either position for him if participating teachers decide to adopt the innovation. Indeed, if education improves because of adoption of the new teaching practice, he would have less chance to have those in positions in the educational system quit or be appointed to other locations, or the like. This would in turn decrease his political party's strategies to obtain as many administrative positions as possible. Also, completion of my study would mean loss to his political party given the absence of its representative at the study opening.

At the second level, Mr. Nasolo could have felt even more losses. The first loss relates to clan power, authority, or both. Indeed, to him, his clan had been ruling the region (see portrayal, p. 136). The study opening, however, revealed certain power or authority of the Senator, given the willingness of two local administrative authorities and

the president of the association of students' parents to attend it. He could have perceived this as *his clan's loss of power or authority*.

This feeling of loss of power or authority could have been exacerbated by the absence of the Mayor, his clan-kin, at the official opening of the study. Also, he could have felt the same loss of his party given that, among the well-known parties in the region, only his political party did not have a representative at the study opening. His *supervising-like* behaviors and exasperation during the Public Conflict (see portrayal, p. 112) seem to indicate that he thought that he had power or authority over participants and expected them to accept it. Their *refusal* could have aggravated his already negative perception.

Further, Mr. Nasolo could have perceived my organization and myself as a counterpart of himself and his organization. In other words, he might have thought that the Senator had planned to collaborate with me to compete against his organization. This seems clear during the hot exchanges between us, when he stated his personal and his organization's support for and promotion of Francophony, and directly accused me for hiding my support for and promotion of Americanism. Indeed, his use of the active voice, along with the negative orientation of the sentence, in "why don't you act straightforwardly like me and reveal that you promote Americanism?" (see portrayal, p. 138) indicates his conviction about my concealment of the true purpose of my study, which, to him, was to promote Americanism. In other words, he apparently had doubts or concerns about the study purposes. His doubts about involvement of the American

government in my study already surfaced during the official opening and he seemed certain of it. A deeper analysis of his question can unveil this certainty.

His question was

What is it that the roles of the Malagasy and American governments are in it (the study)?

(i.e., *Inona no anjara andraikitra ny governemanta malagasy sy amerikana amin'io?*).

His use of what in his question implies that he presupposed the *existence* of roles played by either or both governments in my study. That is, he was certain that either or both governments was/were connected to my study. Thus, what he wanted to know was the *nature or identity* of these implications, rather than *whether* these implications existed. Whichever the situation, however, it is suggested that he would have used it to his personal or kin group advantages. If the Malagasy government was connected to the study, chances are that he would have used it to discredit it (i.e., the study) or the Senator. That is, given the perceived negative experiences with change introduction into school mentioned during Ms. Raivo's first interview, Mr. Naivo would put the present study in the same category as previous ones. This could be a strong argument to resist its introduction given the more or less generalized negative view of innovation among school personnel. Additionally, if this was the case, the Senator and his kin groups should be given credit for the innovation introduction. This argument is consistent with his essay on the roles that the Malagasy "government and the owners of the power" should have in the dissemination of new vocabulary items, and with his questioning their competence and credibility (Nasolo: diary: 05-08-99).

On the other hand, if the American government played a role in the study, he would have considered it as a means to promote Americanism. This, too, would have been a strong argument to resist its introduction. His concerns about the American involvement could have been aggravated when the Senator qualified the innovation to be introduced as Anglo-Saxon (see portrayal, p. 93). Although it is unclear whether the Senator mentioned this term out of lack of information, out of the desire to convince participants to explore *novel* approaches, in response to Mr. Nasolo's question, or out of other reasons, what it did was leading him to stating his inability "to fight against the French." This in turn led me to clarify what I had said, and explicate my goal, mainly, "to inform teachers and equip them with new teaching approaches" (see portrayal, p. 93). Mr. Nasolo could have thought that the Senator and I were acting like "*vazaha mody miady*" (Vérin, 1990, p. 240), that is, "foreigners who were feigning a fight" during our argument exchange. Stated differently, he could have perceived the argumentation between the Senator and me as truth concealment. Furthermore, the high number of American names that I used to connect Malagasy cultural values to psychological and social theories of learning and to cooperative learning study results could have intensified Mr. Nasolo's concerns. Indeed, on my cumulative summary poster, of the twelve names in my learning theory foundation cluster, ten were American, and all four names in my study result foundation cluster were American. Although the name selection was theory- rather than nationality-based in the former cluster, and convenience-informed in the latter cluster, Mr. Nasolo could have perceived the use and great number of Americans as intentional.

All in all, Mr. Nasolo could have put these elements together and related them to his preliminary concern about involvement of either or both the Malagasy and American governments, with an emphasis on the latter. This argument supports his referring to me as a child of Americans'. Indeed, a child of Americans' would have more ties with and obligations toward them, be expected to defend and promote his/her kin group well-being, and carry its image and identity if the Malagasy concept of *fihavanana* is utilized for interpretations. A child of Americans' who was coming to Ambohitsaraianana would be no exception: She was coming there to promote American interests, whatever Mr. Naina thought they were. Either or both the completion and success of my study would be a loss of interests and credit to him and his organization. This feeling of loss seemed so strong in him that he was unable to depict that all of the discussions and evaluations related to the study activities were based on arguments connected to Malagasy cultural values rather than to American cultural values, *and* generated by participants themselves. Consequently, he was unable to accept and believe in my explanations, although he admitted, "the state of affair is already getting clearer to me, and the answer to my question at the beginning (of the study) is coming in sight." This is certainly the reason why he said, "why aren't your American 4X4s brought over here now (that everything is done) for them to be seen by the people?" (see portrayal, p. 139). Given the use of why with the negative form of the question (meaning confrontation triggered by facts), this utterance can be regarded as a last resort for him to publicly attempt to confirm his opinion, which was that I was working for Americans, but that I was *hiding* it from the *people* (singular) of Ambohitsaraianana. Confirmation of his

opinion would have a two-sided significance: It would mean “win and credit” for him and his organization which, through his intermediary, “defended or protected the interests of the whole people of Ambohitsaraianana.” Conversely, it would mean “loss and discredit” for my organization, myself, the Senator, and his kin groups.

Taken together, Mr. Nasolo could have perceived the completion or success of the study or both as losses for his family, clan, political party, and organization. Therefore, he worked like he had “*never done before*” (see portrayal, p. 112), communicated with the highest mode of swearing as proof of the highest degree of seriousness (i.e., “swearing to one’s sister”), to prevent these multifaceted and multi-level losses from becoming reality. To this end, he employed multifaceted tripping behaviors. This is certainly the reason for him to say the following:

Everything has been done by people so that your study wouldn’t be completed.
(portrayals)

I am always ready to make criticism and continuously keep distance, I must say.
(Nasolo: diary: 05-03-99)

The word people certainly means *his* people rather than people in general. It seemed not matter to him whether or not he, as a “taboo breaker,” can be “a disgrace (*henatra*) to his home and to his community” (Ruud, 1960, p. 269), and that, as a social norm violator, he can be subject to an array of community censure (Keenan & Ochs, 1979). What he wanted was resist the innovation introduction as much as he could because, with their cumulative effects, the costs of the study completion or success or both were too high for the future and honor of each of his groups, all of them as a whole, and himself (see Figure 6).

The Case of Ms. Raivo: Promoting as a Contribution to Kin-Groups' Cumulative Gains

Technical dimension. Unlike Mr. Nasolo, Ms. Raivo tended to exhibit **promoting behaviors**. Connected to the technical dimension, she volunteered to play the role of an observer, right during the first teacher training session. When Ms. Manga withdrew, she openly showed her disapproval and offered to implement the approach in English even though this would give her extra work for speaking practice (see portrayal, p. 113). She writes in her diary

Whoever can conduct it (i.e., the implementation) will make efforts to do so. So I accepted even though I haven't used English for a while.
(Raivo: diary: 05-22-99)

At the announcement of the beginning of student training, she strongly urged students to participate "because you will get huge benefits from it" (Researcher Notebook). Then, when Ms. Manga came back, she assured her that she was going to substitute for her if necessary. Clearly, her behaviors promoted the completion or success of my study.

Related data will be discussed in the following section.

Ms. Raivo found the **cooperative puzzle** activity as "astounding" because it looked as if it was really simple. And yet, it made one think about one's behaviors... that haven't been given much weight while teaching up till now.
(Raivo: diary: 05-05-99)

At several occasions, she offered additional explanations to Mr. Nasolo when he said he did not understand something, both inside and outside training sessions. These behaviors certainly contributed to the facilitation of the completion of activities and the study in general.

Socio-affective dimension. Concerning the socio-affective dimension, Ms. Raivo showed welcoming behaviors. She addressed me as *indry*, a marked form of the singular second personal pronoun whose use can express “very intimate friendship ties” (Rajaona, p. 611). Also, she offered a lot of help in my everyday life by inviting me to have meals several times, and even *saving rice* (i.e., saving meals) for me whenever she thought I was very busy. Additionally, she took the time to accompany me to the market for groceries and bargained for me. Further, at many occasions, she advised me “not to listen to what is said by Mr. Nasolo” when he used strong words like *gibberish*. These behaviors certainly facilitated my work and stress management, and served as sources of encouragement for me.

The question is to know why Ms. Raivo exhibited these promoting behaviors. Her demographic information indicates that she belongs to a *Zanatany* clan, or a Children-of-the-Land clan. She has a daughter who was going to attend the high school starting the following academic year. Her husband works at the Department of Education and teaches at the junior high school at the same because of lack of teachers. She is a sister of the Head of the Regional Department of Education. Her brother and she were then members of the same political party. She was a candidate for the Senate at the last election (see portrayal, p. 126), like Mr. Nasolo and the Senator, as already noted above.

I assume that Ms. Raivo and the Senator engaged in exchanges filled with animosity toward each other, at least through their political parties, during the election campaigns, like Mr. Nasolo. Such exchanges could have resulted in frictions or conflicts between them as individuals and as members of their political parties prior to the study.

Ms. Raivo could have related these conflicts to the study. However, chances are that her perceptions of the innovation introduction differed from those of Mr. Nasolo. Indeed, Ms. Raivo's brother was present at the official opening. Also, she shares the characteristic of belonging to a *Zanatany* clan with the Senator, at least partly. Additionally, Mr. Nasolo's claim for her brother's position could have negatively impacted her relationships with him.

In light of the above, if Ms. Raivo perceived some threat related to the innovation introduction, it would only be related to the Senator and his political party. The presence of her brother and the Head of the Region at the study official opening could have reduced this threat. Indeed, the fact that both her brother and the Senator came together to open the study seems to indicate that, if there were conflicts between them, they were minor or peripheral. Therefore, she just had to know the answer to her question: Whether the study was done for the benefit of *those at the top* of the administrative ladder (Interview 1), like the Senator, or for school improvement.

As her doubt about the motive of the study was dissipating, she could have perceived it as beneficial for herself and her groups. Indeed, a better teaching approach would benefit her daughter. An improvement in education would additionally give credit to her brother and could stop or at least decrease Mr. Nasolo's criticisms of her brother. It would also give credit to their political party because they, as members, were willing to participate in education improvement, regardless of which group or individual initiated it. To her, the study was a *gain* as she revealed during the student gathering and in her diary (Raivo: diary: 06-11-99).

This feeling of gain was also reflected in her multiple statements of gratitude (Raivo: diary: 06-09 and 17-99) and her qualification of the study as “a great beneficence” for Ambohitsaraianana (Raivo: diary: 06-17-99). The following statement certainly reflects her happiness:

I am completely happy because the fetched water has become concretized [i.e., the hard work has produced good concrete results in return].
(Raivo: diary: 06-09-99)

I infer that she worked as hard as she could in order to make the multiple wins mentioned above a reality, and out of responsibilities toward her kin-groups. That is, it is suggested that her promoting behaviors were related to benefits that she and her kin groups could obtain from the study completion and adoption of the innovation.

Furthermore, it seems clear that Ms. Raivo and her family had worked hard for the region. Her willingness to teach at both the junior high and high schools, as well as her husband’s willingness to teach at the junior high school in addition to his job at the Department of Education, indicate their commitment to improve education in the region. It could be that, any time she, her brother, or both, proposed some project to improve education, Mr. Nasolo would undermine their propositions.

In light of the above, it is suggested that both Mr. Nasolo and Ms. Raivo worked as hard as they could possibly do. However, they appear to take two opposing directions: On the one hand, the former did everything he could to prevent the study from being completed both at the high school and elementary school. For this, he adopted multifaceted tripping behaviors resulting to a perceived most intense resistance to the innovation. This high resistance intensity was to prevent multiple and cumulative kin

group losses from becoming a reality. On the other hand, the latter did everything she could to promote the completion of the study. For this, she adopted multi-faceted promoting behaviors resulting in a perceived least intense resistance to the innovation. This almost non-existent resistance to the innovation was to allow multiple and cumulative kin group gains to become as reality. Thus, desirability of the innovation appears to be a correlation between participants' perceived resistance and kin group realities (see Figure 6).

It follows from the above that Mr. Nasolo could have been a significant part of the problem that led students' parents to make the request to look at education. He could have brought his social realities into school and used them to obstruct any project that could improve the system. This is certainly a reason why Mr. Joro, the high school principal, mentioned in his diary that everything that had been done to improve the school had failed. Some individuals could have opposed Mr. Nasolo. However, his multi-level and multifaceted strategies could have frustrated them, and they preferred to abandon fighting. Indeed, the chain of reactions could go on for a long time if nothing or no one stops it, as discussed above. Obviously, such a situation could have detrimental impacts on the community in general.

In light of these, my study could have been considered a means to resolve this social problem. Indeed, even though nobody was aware of what it would involve, chances are that many people expected Mr. Nasolo to confront me given his usual opposition to propositions discussed above. In such a case, the community would have a valid and legitimate reason to publicly censure his confrontation based on the social norm

of confrontation avoidance. In fact, a short time after the Public Conflict, many times I was asked by various community members to inform them if I needed help. This apparently indicates their readiness to intervene.

Still within the same vein, given the recourse to intermediaries when disputes arise between constituencies, I can be viewed as an intermediary: Students' parents complained to the Senator. The Senator, who has ties to both students' parents and the school personnel by virtue of his status, decided to find someone to play the role of intermediary, rather than play it himself because of the possible conflicts or frictions between his groups and other groups presented above. From the Senator's vantage point, this is a plausible argument as related to the absence of the Mayor, Mr. Nasolo's kinsperson, at the official opening of the study. From the symbolic leadership frame (Bolman & Deal, 1991), this absence can symbolize the Senator's intent not to entangle the Mayor with the "problem in education." That is, it could mean *exclusion* of the Mayor from the problem, to indicate that, even though he has kinship ties with Mr. Nasolo, he was not considered *involved* in the problem, particularly in the specific event of the study introduction. This interpretation reinforces the argument advanced above, that is, Mr. Nasolo was part of the "problem in education" to look at.

It is suggested that, Mr. Nasolo, with his somewhat habitual oppositions to others' suggestions to improve education motivated by his personal realities, could have frustrated many individuals or constituencies within the Ambohitsaraianana community. Included in those frustrated individuals are high school personnel. This frustration, along with the inability of anyone to adopt or try out proposed solutions to school problems,

had led to the poor performances of the school as a whole, at least partly. Thus, it is argued that the technical and social dimensions of the “problem in education” were interconnected and influenced each other.

The Case of Ms. Manga

Like Mr. Nasolo, Ms. Manga exhibited tripping behaviors although hers were slightly different in nature and scope. She appeared reluctant to accept solutions that might resolve problems related to the teaching of the English language and the implementation of the study in English. Indeed, she had stated she was really short of time and could not teach students as she should. She added that if she received help, things would become better. However, when I offered to help by teaching some classes so that she could have more time, she refused (Interview 1: Manga). Then, when the student training was announced, she decided to withdraw from the study because she was “busy” (see portrayal, p. 111). These acts are apparently incongruent. Indeed, because she had little time, accepting my help would be a reasonable act. Instead, her refusal seems to indicate that she was unwilling to adopt a solution to her problem, as though her aim was to worsen the situation.

Related to this, when Ms. Lala and I discussed her problems with her after she had withdrawn, she refused all of the solutions we offered, and warned us of her “possibly falling ill,” a problem that nobody could resolve. In the end, she suggested that the implementation be done by “those who are eager and willing to do it, like Ms. Raivo” (see portrayal, p. 142). However, when the student training began, she decided to come back after telling a participant, “the real problem isn’t understood by Sahoby at all.” This

clearly suggests that Ms. Manga used her withdrawal as a means to prevent the planned innovation implementation in the English language from taking place, given that she was the only English teacher at the school. She probably thought that if she withdrew from the study, the implementation in the English language would be abandoned. However, when she realized that it was going to be carried out as planned whether or not she participated, she decided to come back. Her above statements, as well as Mr. Nasolo's question-tagging the validity of the study if Ms. Raivo was to conduct the implementation (see portrayal, p. 113), seem to indicate an agreed upon strategy to stop the implementation of the new practice. This argument is supported by the fact that Ms. Manga had expressed great interest in knowing about "cooperative learning" (Interview 1: Manga), and by her active participation in post-session discussions at the beginning of the teacher training (see portrayal, p. 141). In other words, she was interested in the new teaching practice but did not want it to be implemented in her subject area: These are certainly two opposing behaviors.

Unlike the above participants, however, Ms. Manga did not belong to any particular social organizations. She appeared mostly concerned with her baby and family life. Indeed, during her first interview, she mentioned that she "decided to decrease her weekly teaching hours because of nursing." She also said that she didn't have a "home helper," which made it difficult for her to find time for lesson preparations. During her second interview, she decided to knit her baby's pullover on my old battery-operated tape recorder so that she could finish it. The cover of her questionnaire is covered with a picture of a bird for her child and scribbles, probably of her child.

All of the above seems to indicate that Ms. Manga resisted anything that would negatively impact the time she needed to take care of her child. She had decreased her teaching hour number and yet attributed students' low performances to her being the only English teacher at the school. If she adopted the new teaching practice, students' achievements could improve. Then, nobody would make efforts to request that another English teacher be appointed to the school, including the Senator who had promised to do what he could to find one. This would decrease the amount of time she would have for her child. In addition, the rationale she had been using for the students' poor performances could not be sustained any longer. Therefore, adoption of the innovation would exacerbate her already existing time problem. Also, it would disconfirm her previous assertions concerning reasons for students' English poor performances. This would in turn lead to her face loss, something that she would certainly want to avoid.

In sum, from an outsider's perspective, Mr. Nasolo's tripping behaviors indicated a correlation between perceived high degree of resistance and his group memberships, suggesting little or no desire for the innovation. It is argued that his behaviors were strategies used to attain personal future goals, including gaining an administrative position within the educational system in the region, which in turn would give his constituencies more power/authority. As such, his behaviors could indicate a power or authority struggle between his groups and others, tripping them for personal win: the worse the school performance, the better for him and his constituencies. In this gain search, there is a very high possibility that he had become part of the school problem, revealing that his tripping behaviors were predominantly based on his social realities.

Conversely, Ms. Raivo promoting behaviors were linked to a correlation between perceived low degree of resistance and her group memberships, revealing a great desire for the study completion. It is suggested that her behaviors were means used to improve the then state of the educational system for the benefits of her brother, her kin-groups, and for the whole community: the better the school performance, the better for her and her constituencies. In this sense, they would mean defense against or censure to Mr. Nasolo's attacks. Therefore, her behaviors could also be viewed as grounded on social realities, at least partly.

Unlike the above participants, Ms. Manga appeared more concerned about her time for her child and family life. Adoption of the new teaching practice could negatively impact this time and result in her face loss. Thus she behaved to prevent these from happening.

Theme 3: The Kinship Blessing Ritual

The Kinship Blessing Ritual is defined as a particular event which involves perceived behaviors and key elements paralleling behaviors and key elements of Malagasy blessing rituals. These include the canalization of blessing via the powerful water and the conquest of the wild power via violence. For this, I will analyze and interpret Ms. Raivo's and Mr. Nasolo's behaviors from an insider perspective. An insider perspective is very important in social research because it can capture cultural meanings that an outsider perspective could miss, a miss that could lead to unfortunate value judgments as results of applications of foreign cultural norms to the situation at hand (Shein, 1985). I will do my analyses and interpretations in connection with blessing

rituals in the highlands of Madagascar, drawing on Bloch's (1986, 1989) comprehensive studies of these rituals.

The most important concept connected to Merina non-sectarian religious beliefs and practices is the "cult of blessing" whose underpinning substance is "the notion of deme and of descent" (Bloch, 1986, p. 40). Broadly, blessing or *tsodrano* in Malagasy, literally "blowing on water," consists of the transference of "the power, the life force and the fertility of previous generations" to subsequent ones (p. 41). Each generation is responsible for the continuity and maintenance of his group's creative and productive force via blessing the next generations by using water as the instrument of fertility canalization. That is a reason why their ancestors seem ever present in and part of the lives of Malagasy people (McElroy, 1999), as they constitute the "previous generations," or "the source of the blessing" (Bloch, 1986, p. 41).

All *tsodrano* rituals dramatically emphasize kinship unity and indivisibility, whether kinship concerns demes, clans, families, or any other groups. As will be seen in this section, most of the key elements of the rituals described by Bloch (1986, 1989) were present during my study. I will utilize them to argue that Ms. Raivo's and Mr. Nasolo's behaviors can be interpreted as blessing-ritual-performance behaviors.

A most important element to consider is the "time" of my study. I permanently stayed in the city of Ambohitsaraianana from May 3 through July 15, 1999 after the gaining access to the region. This period fell within the cold season, the period during which the most important blessing rituals such as the *famadihana*, that is, the turning of the remains of the ancestors, and boys' circumcisions in the highlands of Madagascar are

performed (Bloch, 1986). In fact, many of these rituals took place during my stay in the city of Ambohitsaraianana. It was a right time to carry out blessing rituals.

Canalizing the Holy Power via the Powerful Water

Ms. Raivo's behaviors could be viewed as canalizing the holy power via the powerful water within blessing rituals, as will be discussed in this section.

A key element of Merina blessing rituals is *rano*, that is, water. As mentioned above, *tsodrano*, or blessing, literally means "blowing on water" according to Bloch (1986, p. 40), or "water blowing." In practice, it consists of blowing water put into one's mouth onto the persons to be blessed, "blowing on the surface of the water so that it sprays the receiver" (p. 41), and/or spraying water onto individuals to be blessed using one's hand or other means such as leaves. Of great importance to the ceremony is the individual giving the blessing: He/she is an intermediary between the ancestors and the next generations. Ideal individuals for this intermediary role are elders (Bloch, 1986), or *ray-aman-dreny* (literally "father-and-mother"), respected adults within "the *havana* group" (Keenan, 1974, p. 125).

Considering Ms. Raivo's case, the first point to highlight concerns her statement already mentioned above, that is,

Izaho moa faly tanteraka satria 'nody ventiny ny rano nantsakaina'!
(Raivo: diary: 06-09-99)

Literally: Me, I am completely happy because the fetched water has become materialized.

Worth noting in this statement is the "emphatization" (Rajaona, 1972, p. 106) of the grammatical subject *izaho* (i.e. "I"). In other words, the grammatical subject "I" is

emphasized as the sentence has the marked “sentence order” subject-predicate (p. 47), the unmarked sentence order being “predicate-subject” (p. 46). To repeat, the use of the marked sentence order denotes an opposition between the process expressed by the predicate and any other possible process. In the case of Ms. Raivo’s utterance, then, the process expressed completely happy is emphasized as opposed to *any* other process. This emphasis on *herself* as the “grammatical subject” is of great importance considering the cause of the process, that is, “the fetched water has become materialized.”

As mentioned above, water is the instrument for canalizing fertility from the ancestors down to subsequent generations within one’s group. Although the cause of the process Ms. Raivo used is a metaphor to indicate good results from hard work in general, the link between it and what will be said later in this section leads one to think of the ceremony of “the fetching of the powerful water,” or *maka rano mahery* in Malagasy during circumcision rituals (Bloch, 1986, p. 74). This complex ceremony full of symbolism will be briefly examined to elucidate the point I will make about Ms. Raivo’s statement.

As described by Bloch (1986), the ceremony of the fetching the powerful water takes place before dawn the day the real circumcision operation is scheduled to take place. A group of youths violently and forcefully enter the room where most of the circumcision proceedings have taken place. They are led by a youth who imitates a “powerful bull” (i.e., “*omby mahery*,” in Malagasy) which is threatened by another youth via spear brandishing. After a mock fight, dancing, and singing, a gourd *arivolahy* is

elaborately and specially prepared under the leadership of elders. This is the gourd used to carry the powerful water in.

Once the gourd is prepared and put on the head of the powerful bull by an elder, the group of youths rushes outside the room, led by the threatened powerful bull. They are going to fetch water at a distant waterfall in the freezing night. Once they arrive at the waterfall, the powerful bull fetches water with the gourd and the group rushes back to the village. The water must stay intact. A point that Bloch (1986) does not mention is that all along their way to and from the waterfall, the youths can be subject to sudden attacks or challenges. Indeed, some people may wait for them at some place and throw stones or pebbles at them just like those who wait outside the house in Bloch's (1986) description. A point needs to be clarified at this moment in order to clarify the symbol of the powerful water.

An important detail worth drawing attention is the nature of the ceremony of the fetching of the powerful water. It involves violence and risks. As such, it requires energy and courage on the part of the water fetchers. The water itself is "*mahery*," that is, "wild" therefore "uncontrolled and fertile" (Bloch, 1986, p. 70). This is so because water, like any wild entities, belongs to the previous inhabitants *Vazimba* led by their Queens who are believed to be amoral because of their lack of descents, unlike the ancestors. They are also considered fertile. The ancestors' descents, however, need this matrilineal fertility as they have to be both creative and moral. They need to appropriate themselves of the fertility of the wild water to attain this status by conquering it. This is a reason why the ceremony of the fetching of the powerful water involves violence and risks: The water

needs to be contained via the authority of the ancestors to become *masina* or holy, with the concept of the word root *hasina* integrating “wisdom and fecundity.” As such, the fetched water is transformed and becomes both fertile and holy, keeping its original “fertility” and receiving the moral aspect from the ancestors. This double characteristic of the fetched water is handed down to generations to be blessed for them to obtain the power for a creative and productive life.

With this background, Ms. Raivo’s statement becomes clearer. She talks about “fetched water,” that is, the water has been brought back from the waterfall. Because of what is said concerning the ceremony of the water fetching above, there was hard work and courage involved before the current situation expressed in the statement. This hard work and courage are implied in

It is true that the work that needed done was not easy.
(Raivo: diary: 06-17-99).

It is further clarified in the following:

The study was really difficult and challenging because (it) demanded mind and physical strengths, as well as expertise, willingness, and devotion from you and from us. So, I salute your bravery.
(Zandry: diary).

The messages contained in these statements can be paralleled with the dangers faced by the group of individuals in the actual ceremony of water fetching in circumcision rituals. Additionally, Ms. Raivo’s statement above indicates that the water has already been transformed into fertile and holy substance. Further, it has “materialized,” that is, its holiness and fertility are apparent and concrete. This implies

that the actual blessing has occurred and its receivers have obtained its concrete manifestations--fertility and holiness.

In the context of the study, these concrete manifestations happen to be results obtained from the new approach given the positive outcomes listed before the statement in Ms. Raivo's diary (Raivo: diary: 06-09-99). At this point, it is necessary to find out how the blessing was being performed. For this, I will consider Ms. Raivo's behaviors as inferred from the emphasis on the grammatical subject "I" discussed above that Ms. Raivo participated in the ceremony of blessing.

At many occasions, Ms. Raivo invited me to have meals, that is, to eat rice at her house. Once, she even happened to wait for me outside the elementary school where she knew I was, and just told me to "come and eat rice at home. There is rice saved for you there" (see portrayal, p. 128). Of utmost importance in these invitations are the food, that is, rice, and the place, that is, her home.

As Bloch (1989) observes, "rice is life," "it is 'holy,'" that is, *masina* for the Merina (Bloch, 1989, p. 171). It is grown in the irrigated rice fields of the ancestors. Additionally, it is from the Land-of-the-Ancestors where the ancestral tombs are built and where the ancestors *reside* after death. Tombs are the home of the Ancestors. In fact, to my knowledge, many highlanders in Madagascar use the phrase nody mandry, or has come back home to rest, when someone has died. Rice, a product of this land where the Ancestors reside and rest, "is therefore at one and the same time the product of the soil and of the material ancestors placed in it by the tomb" (Bloch, 1989, p. 172). It follows that eating rice at Ms. Raivo's home can be equated to "eating the material ancestors of

hers’,” thus, receiving the holiness and the tamed water from her Ancestors, like in the ceremony of blessing discussed above. It is even more so considering the water in which rice plants grow: The water, a wild and fertile substance, infiltrates itself into the rice plants, and the moral or holy element from the ancestors is transmitted from the soil into the rice through the water. Therefore, the rice obtained contains the two characteristics of the water used for blessing: fertile and holy (Bloch, 1989). This is why “to refuse to eat rice in house which one has visited is to deny all possibilities of a moral relationship” because “the Merina only envisage moral relations as kinship” (p. 172). The rice I ate at Ms. Raivo’s home can then be viewed as the instrument of the fertility and holiness canalization in place of water. In fact, I was once informed that she had said, “*naka ny volon’ny tany izy: Niova be ny volon-tavany*,” that is, “she (Sahoby) has espoused the texture of the land: The texture of her face (skin) has changed a lot.” Surprised, I went to look at myself in the mirror without noticing any change, at least to my vantage point. It was as though Ms. Raivo could see “concrete/palpable manifestations of her land, thus, her ancestors,” in me as signs of the success of the blessing transmission. The question is now why she would give me blessing.

As mentioned above, blessing ceremonies emphasize the group’s unity and indivisibility. To repeat, Ms. Raivo’s brother and a member of her political party were present at the official opening of my study. As both *Zanatany*, that is, children-of-the-land, and Head of the Regional Department of Education, and Head of the Region, both individuals, I believe, are considered *ray-aman-dreny* – respected adults -- in the region. They can be paralleled with the elders who prepare the gourd used for the fetching of the

powerful water (Bloch, 1986). In other words, their participation in the official study opening can be viewed as the beginning of a blessing ritual. As a member of their groups, Ms. Raivo is expected to exhibit “personal kinship loyalties” (Allen, 1995, p. 130) by participating in the whole proceeding for the blessing to succeed. Blessing, however, is usually given to members of one’s group. Therefore, I needed to be a member of Ms. Raivo’s group in order to receive it.

Determination of an individual as a member of one’s group depends on each individual. Ms. Raivo seemed to grant me the status of a member of her group as marked by rice sharing. Indeed, “sharing rice is an outward sign of kinship and common descent,” kinship having a moral element (Bloch, 1989, p. 172). This made it possible for her to give me blessing. Since the aim of blessing is full life for one’s group(s), it can be inferred that the concrete products of the “fetched water” she mentioned were strengthening the then power or authority of her group(s) and will benefit its/their future power or authority. In fact, her happiness was so *complete* that she extended her blessing to cover the whole Malagasy nation:

Hody ventiny tokoa anie ny ezaka rehetra nilofosanao ary mahefa be hatrany, ho Olo-mangan'ny firenentsika tokoa, ho tandroky ny Tanindrazantsika.
(Raivo: diary: 06-17-99)

Translation:

May all the efforts you’ve engaged in really become materialized, and may you always be able to do a lot, may you become a heroine of our country, may you become a ‘horn’ (i.e., a respected leader) of the Land-Of-Our-Ancestors.

It follows that there is a good reason to view Ms. Raivo’s promoting behaviors as related to a blessing ritual. It appears that she worked harder than anybody else and did

everything she could do for my study to be completed and succeed. Completion or success of the study would mean strengthening and continuation of the power and authority of her united and undivided group(s), which is the ultimate aim of blessing rituals for the Merina. The instrument she utilized to canalize fertility and authority from her ancestors onto me seemed to be rice obtained from the Land-of-Her Ancestors. The change of “my face skin texture” and the concrete positive results of the new teaching practice introduced that she perceived appeared to be concretization of the blessing. This would be the achievement of the aim of the blessing ritual.

Conquering the Power of the Wild via Violence

Like Ms. Raivo’s behaviors, those of Mr. Nasolo can be viewed as tied to blessing rituals as well. I will examine them in this section.

Two important elements of blessing rituals appear right at the very beginning of Mr. Nasolo’s diary. Indeed, his diary opening statement reads

Mba “Revy” mankaiza sy manao ahoana marina ary ity kabarin'i SAHOBY ity??
(Nasolo: diary: 05-03-99)

Translation:

What kind of ‘dream’ and for what purpose is this *kabary* of SAHOBY’s, in reality??

The first key element of interest in this statement is the term *kabary*. In the highlands of Madagascar, *kabary* is a formal mode of speaking used in most ceremonial occasions such as circumcisions, *famadihana* (i.e., the turning of the remains of the ancestors), funerals, and marriages, among others (Keenan, 1973). It is a folk genre of linguistic acts highly decorated with metaphors (Bloch, 1989) and proverbs, a speech inherited by successive generations from the ancestors (Keenan, 1973). When listening

to this speech genre, therefore, listeners should “‘look out’ for metaphorical statements” (Bloch, 1989, 169). Expanding, when seeing the term *kabary* in Mr. Nasolo’s diary *opening* statement, one should pay attention to metaphors and expect behaviors connected to the occasion. From an insider perspective, this is exactly what I will do in this section to analyze and interpret his tripping behaviors as ritual-bound.

Mr. Nasolo’s opening statement clearly indicates that, to him, what I was doing on June 03, 1999, the day of the meeting with the personnel and faculty at the Ambohitsaraianana High School, was a *kabary*. Since a *kabary* is “uttered at a particular stage of the proceedings” of the occasion (Bloch, 1989, p. 169), mine was at the *beginning* of the occasion given the date it was performed and the location of the word in Mr. Nasolo’s diary (i.e., in the *opening* statement). This implies that a series of events is expected to follow my *kabary*.

The second salient detail in Mr. Nasolo’s opening statement is his use of the particle *mba*. In Malagasy, this particle conveys the idea of “involuntary” on the part of the grammatical subject, “unexpected” on the part of the grammatical subject, speaker, or both (Rajaona, 1972, p. 322). Given the “inanimate” nature of the grammatical subject in the sentence “this *kabary* of Sahoby’s” (which is a “thing” unable to make a “choice”), the latter meaning in the particle *mba* for my analysis appears more prominent. This seems even more so considering the *double* question marks ending his statement, which I interpret as an indication of Mr. Nasolo’s frustration, anger, or both, as he “had not expected” what was happening to happen. In face of this situation, he seems decided to

“take a stand” as expressed in his second sentence. An analysis of the first part of this sentence will help clarify this stand he took.

The second part will not be included as it appears in contradiction with his opening statement and the last sentence of what he wrote the same day. It is as follows:

Aleo ho avy eo hifanatrehana hoy Rainihanjarahy
(Nasolo: diary: 05-03-99)

Translation:

Let (it) come over here to be a circumstance of reciprocal direct confrontation, said Rainihanjarahy.

The first element I will consider in the sentence is the predicate *hifanatrehana* which is a verb. It is a complex combination of voice morphemes whose full analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. Readers interested in it are invited to refer to Rajaona (1972). For the purpose of the present analysis, this verb is a combination of the discontinued morpheme of the circumstantial *an-...-ana* derived from the agentive morpheme *han-* with the indicator of the future *h-*, and the infix of reciprocity *-if-*, and derived from the root *atrika* meaning *face* or *front*. As such, it denotes both a circumstance and a reciprocal confrontation. In Mr. Nasolo’s statement, the “circumstance of the reciprocal confrontation” is the “substance and the goal of the dream,” that is, Sahoby’s *kabary*. The “agents” who will engage in “reciprocal confrontation” are not directly stated, although it is implied that “I” am obviously in one camp. Mr. Nasolo is in the other camp as indicated in his last statement “*efa vonona lalandava aho hanao jery kiana sy haka elanelana hatrany hafatrany an’!*” (Nasolo: diary: 05-03-99), or “I am already and always ready to make criticism and continuously

keep distance, I'm forewarning!" His "role" in this position can be uncovered from his appeal to a historical figure who is "Rainihanjarahy" or "Rainianjarahy."

As described by Deschamps (1965), Rainianjarahy, a Malagasy army commander, was "the only general that exhibited an *offensive spirit*" to repel the French assault of Madagascar starting in 1894 (p. 230, italics added) and leading to the French declaration of the island of Madagascar as a French colony by "the law of August 6, 1896" (p. 236). In other words, Rainianjarahy was an outstanding, spirited, courageous leader, and agent of the then Malagasy government, and who resisted a foreign invasion. Mr. Nasolo's appeal to *Rainianjarahy* is significant in that he could have excluded it from his utterance, and the message of "reciprocal confrontation" would still be valid. I infer from this that he regarded himself as "the Rainianjarahy during my study," thus, his role which is to repel my study as a foreign invasion. The link he made between my study and a foreign invasion is hinted in his long essay of May 08, 1999.

In the last paragraph of this essay, Mr. Nasolo argues about the need to give "importance/weight" to the Malagasy language to prevent foreigners from owning the land as it reads:

Fa sanatria ny hafa firenena mihitsy aza no ho tompon'ity tany ity satria, izy no mahery amin'ny teniny sy ny fombany aman-kolotsaina
(Nasolo: diary: 05-08-99)

Translation:

God forbid (the situation in which) it is those from a different country(ies) that will become owners of this land because it is they that are strong in their language, customs, and culture.

Given his apparent decision to resist my study (which was the substance of my *kabary*, as he called it) as discussed above, and given his direct accusation of my

“promoting Americanism” (see portrayal, p. 138), it seems evident that Mr. Nasolo considered my study as at least a “part of a foreign invasion,” which is, American invasion. Additionally, it appears that he considered himself as an agent of his ancestors, just as Rainianjalahy was an agent of the Malagasy government fighting against the French invasion. This argument is supported by his reiteration of the following:

Ny Tompontany no nitondra an'ity faritra ity hatrizay

It is the *Tompontany*—the Masters-of-the-Land clan-- that had been ruling this region since the beginning (see portrayal, p. 136).

Following Rajaona’s (1972) explanation on “the opposition *past/present/future*,” this sentence denotes an emphasis on the *past* beginning of the “ruling of the *Tompontany*,” and its continuation until an immediate past time. In other words, the ruling of the *Tompontany* was *discontinued* at least at the time of the study. Therefore, Mr. Nasolo seems to want to *continue* what his ancestors did, that is, maintain the status of the *Tompontany* as rulers of the region by acting as their agent. This desire for “the continuation of the *Tompontany*’s status as rulers, rather than *ruled*,” is apparent in his last diary statement of the same date, which is as follows:

Aza hitako, aza mahita izay fara mandimbiko anie izany!

Translation:

May that not be seen by me, may that not see my future succeeding generations.

This sentence *negates* the realization of that being seen by Mr. Nasolo, and that seeing his future generations. In other words, he negates the realization of “foreigners owning the land” indicated in the previous sentence because such a realization will potentially affect him and his future generations. As such, it is a negating wish, if such a

term can be coined. The deme continuation component mentioned earlier is indicated by the succession of the present generation of his clan represented by him, and future generations of his clan represented by his successors. The clan lineage can be completed with his previous generations about whose *ruling* he repeatedly talked during the study. Indeed, for Malagasy, “children, representing the future, are considered links in a chain that ties them (i.e., the community) to the past and to their ancestors” (Dahl, 1995, p. 201).

The image of the continuation of the ruling status of the *Tompontany* discussed above is of great significance in relation to this section because it parallels the central notion of the Merina cult of blessing, which is “the image of the continuity of the undivided deme associated with its undivided territory.” The force or creative power of the deme needs to be maintained and “passed on from generation to generation as a blessing” for the clan’s growth (Bloch, 1986, 40).

Another detail mentioned by Mr. Nasolo and connected to blessing rituals is the word *mahery* or *strong* in his sentence that mentions “foreigners’ owning this land” above. According to Bloch (1989), “*mahery*” is normally translated as strong, vigorous, energetic, and wild. It can be associated with things like water, or animals like bulls or cattle. *Mahery* beings are believed to lack the “mystical descent” characteristic of those having received ancestors’ blessing because they are “purely matrilaterally related in a biological way”(p. 179). This is so because they are thought to belong to the Vazimba who have no living descendants. In circumcision rituals, the presence of *mahery* beings is predominant. This presence is manifested in the powerful water, bulls, wild plants, and

the powerful-bird (in songs). The *mahery* element of these beings is the fundamental source of vitality necessary for descents' full life. They need to conquer it from the wild world to achieve their goals. But it needs to be controlled by the authority and power of the ancestors before it can become a source of legitimate and safe fertility. This can happen only through blessing rituals.

In Mr. Nasolo's sentence, the word *mahery* refers to foreigners. As discussed above, he appears to consider my study as related to foreigners' invasion, that is, American invasion. In addition, however, the word *foreigner* can be translated into *vahiny* in Malagasy. To repeat, it can refer to outsiders, either outsiders in relation to the whole country of Madagascar, one's region, or one's group(s). Given that the Senator belongs to a clan different from that of Mr. Nasolo, the latter can view him as a foreigner, too. Additionally, only the Senator's mother was a native of the Ambohitsaraiaiana region but not his father. Therefore, his tie with the land of the region is matrilineal. A parallel can be made between the characteristics of the Senator and the *mahery* beings in circumcision rituals: Both are *mahery* and matrilineal.

A last but not least detail related to blessing rituals is Mr. Nasolo's referring me as a child of Americans'. To my knowledge, most inhabitants in the highlands of Madagascar connect Americans to the Eagle, probably because of the eagle represented on US coins, in American Indians' hair-dresses, of the frequent presence of eagles in most US Western movies, of an association of the power of the U. S. with the power of eagles, of the US emblem, or any combination of some or all of the these. Regardless of the possible cause(s) of this representation, by analogy, "a child of Americans'" would

mean “a child of the Eagle’s.” The Malagasy general word that I know equivalent to eagle is *voromahery*, literally, powerful bird. In circumcision rituals, there are songs talking about *zana-boromahery*, spelled “zanak boromahery” in Bloch (1986, p. 68), that is, “a child of the powerful bird,” which is exactly the meaning of “a child of Americans” by analogy. According to Bloch’s (1986) interpretation, the *voromahery* (i.e., “the powerful bird”) is the passage from the matrilineal status of the child to be circumcised into the clan descent status. Therefore, the status of a powerful bird is an intermediary one leading to the legitimate or safe fertility of descent beings. His referring me to a child of the powerful bird by analogy could be translated into the Senator’s “ongoing shift from just powerful to a legitimate or safe productive descent being.”

Taken together, major elements of blessing rituals were present in Mr. Nasolo’s statements, leading to the suggestion that his tripping behaviors from an outsider perspective were related to “conquering the power of the wild via violence” as in a blessing ritual from an insider perspective. These elements are as follows: The *kabary* which occurs in most ceremonial rituals, the image of the continuation of descents from ancestors to future generations which is the central focus of blessing rituals, and *mahery* beings which are the ultimate source of vitality and fertility in blessing rituals. The question is now to know the nature of his behaviors in relation to the conquest of the power of the wild.

According to Bloch (1986, 1989) and as already introduced above, a *mahery* bull, that is, a powerful bull, plays an important role in many Merina rituals. In circumcision

rituals, the ceremony of bull killing constitutes the first sequence of blessing within the proceedings. Like the fetching of the powerful water, the killing of the bull is part of a series of “threatened violence” accompanying all *mahery* entities (Bloch, 1989, p. 183). This conquest begins with a kind of violent bullfight: Young men chase the animal around the village, encourage it to charge at them, strip it, attack it with sharp tools such as knives, axes, and spears, and trip it when about to reach them. In the end, in “a sorry state” (p. 183), it is controlled, tied up, and placed at a specific place for the invocation of the initial blessing ceremony. After the initial blessing, it is killed and prepared for cooking. The killing of the bull ceremony is “an aggressive jollity” with the predominance of the feeling of having conquered and acquired the strong and rich power of the animal, including its consumption”(p. 184). By ingesting it, living descents have added the strength of the *mahery* bull to their legitimate status of descents. In other words, they have gained a blend of power/vitality and holiness or “legitimate fertility” (Bloch, 1986, p. 70).

As already presented above, the violence exerted toward the *bull* continues during the ceremony of the fetching of the powerful water as the youth imitating it is constantly *threatened*. Most of Mr. Nasolo’s behaviors can be paralleled with those of participants in blessing rituals as will be presented in this section.

During my stay in the Ambohitsaraiainana City, Mr. Nasolo seemed present at most places where I went and at most times. Indeed, whether I was going home from the elementary or private schools after training sessions, in the streets to the market or after training sessions at the high school, or at the country bus station, he was present most of

the time. This was true whether it was during daytime or evenings. More often than not, he would “emerge” from the evening thick darkness on his unlit bicycle, or from a “door of a house” by which I would pass. His presence was so frequent that, many times, I was thinking: “He seems spying on me!” as if “following me,” like the young men “chasing the bull” during the bullfight ceremony. Likewise, many times I felt like Mr. Nasolo was “provoking” me. His characterization of my activity instructions as *gibberish* without explaining why, his several direct confrontations in public, and his reference to me as *ialahy* given the connotation in it explained earlier, are conducts similar to the young men’s encouraging the bull to charge at them. Similarly, more than once, I sensed that Mr. Nasolo was *threatening* me. Given that to *threaten* is “to give signs of the approach of (something evil or unpleasant; Neilson, 1934, p. 2633), his mention of the existence of *many evil creatures* in Ambohitsaraianana can be viewed as a threat. Indeed, it can mean

if you stay here, something evil or unpleasant will happen to you because of what these creatures will do to you.

Likewise, the following statement can be regarded as a threat:

You are a *vahiny* over here, people here don’t like *vahiny*.

Indeed, it can be interpreted as follows:

people here, in Ambohitsaraianana, will do something to you because they don’t like you as a *vahiny*.

Further, his diary records of the meeting day discussed earlier appear to reflect these threatening conducts. They can be interpreted as follows

Something unpleasant is approaching because, when her study is being conducted, I will confront her by means of criticisms.

All of these remind one of the threatening behaviors manifested toward all *mahery* beings such as the bull, powerful water, gourd, and reeds described in Bloch's (1986). Mr. Nasolo had probably expected me to be in a sorry state, like the bull to be killed in blessing rituals, so he was so surprised by the absence of signs of such a state that he felt like needing to ask why I *could* not fall sick. *Falling sick*, indeed, can put one in a sorry state, particularly during fieldwork. Also, he seemed to enjoy conveying information or ideas that could be unpleasant or hurting. For example, when I asked him why I should fall sick, he was snickering, swaying from side to side. He displayed a similar behavior when telling his so-recounted school staff's *collective* opinion on the role played by my status as a child of Americans' for obtaining materials from the American Cultural Center. These parallel the "aggressive jollity" (Bloch, 1989, p. 184) predominant in the conquest of the power in bulls during bullfight ceremonies.

In sum, Mr. Nasolo's tripping behaviors can be perceived as ritual-connected, as conquering the power of the wild via violence. These include chasing, provoking, and threatening me, just like individuals chasing and provoking bulls to be killed, and threatening *mahery* entities in Merina circumcision rituals. The question is to know the reason why Mr. Nasolo would behave like bullfight participants in a blessing ritual.

As mentioned earlier, a Merina blessing ritual consists of the transmission of the power, life force, and productivity of one's ancestors onto their descendants for the latter to obtain legitimate fertility. As such, it is the continuation and maintenance of previous generations' creative and productive force with the intermediary of elders" (Bloch, 1986).

Viewed as a blessing ritual, my study would then be specifically the transmission of the power, life force, and productivity of the Senator's ancestors for the continuation and maintenance of their creative and productive life to Mr. Nasolo's vantage point. This is so because the Senator was a primary initiator of the conduct of my study in Ambohitsaraiananal. Its success or completion would be the success or completion of the fertility transference onto him and his future generations. This can be equated to a change in the Senator's status from matrilineal being, that is, powerful, productive, and uncontrolled to legitimate, that is, powerful, productive, holy, and safe. Such a status achievement was certainly not what Mr. Nasolo would desire. This is probably the reason why he equated my *kabary* as a *dream*, "a visionary creation of the imagination" (Neilson, 1934, p. 785). What would benefit him and his generations is a blessing ritual aiming at the continuation and maintenance of *his* ancestors' creative and productive life with the intermediary of an elder representing *his* ancestors. My study was not then the type of blessing ritual he would like to be conducted or completed, given that no elder from his clan was initiating it. Additionally, the creative and productive life of his ancestors *discontinued* because the only descendant from his clan that detained a governmental position was the Mayor. This was reflected in the change from his ancestors' ruling a *whole* regional area to the Mayor's ruling a *small* city area. This can be viewed as a loss of power and fertility. In order to regain the *power* for ruling of the whole area, Mr. Nasolo, as a representative of his present generation, would then need to conquer the power of wild beings for a change of status from mystical descent being to legitimate being. This seems what he did: He was conquering the power of wild beings

represented by the child of the Eagle. He was unable to kill and *consume* it because it was not in a sorry state. Therefore, the ritual was not completed: He was still continuing his conquest even after the completion of the study implementation.

In sum, Ms. Raivo's and Mr. Nasolo's behaviors parallel behaviors present in blessing ritual ceremonies in the highland of Madagascar. It is suggested that Ms. Raivo behaved in order to pass her ancestors' blessing onto me. Completion of the ritual would mean productivity and legitimacy of descendants and continuation of the authority of the whole clan. Conversely, Mr. Nasolo's behaviors can be viewed as related to the conquest of the power or fertility of *mahery* beings--wild and powerful beings--such as bulls and eagle's babies. Capture of this power or fertility would give the descendents of a clan the fertility needed for a productive life, and provide them with the power and authority needed to be productive descendants.

Taken together, the three themes above can be synthesized as follows: Prior to my study, there had been a problem. The problem had two dimensions: technical and social. Mr. Nasolo appears to be a part of the problem: in pursuit of his and his groups' personal goals, he had frustrated many individuals and/or constituencies in the community. Because of the individuals' moral ties with (Bloch, 1989) and personal loyalties (Allen, 1995) to their kinship, individuals belonging to many groups were more likely to be affected by his behaviors. Ms. Raivo appears to be one such an individual as regard those directly affected by the study. As such, she could have felt more pressure as for her responsibilities to defend her groups. She then worked harder than those who did

not belong to as many groups as her, leading to her promoting behaviors to assist in the study completion.

Mr. Nasolo also belonged to many groups. Like Ms. Raivo, he could have felt the same pressure in fulfilling his responsibilities toward these multiple groups. He worked as hard as he could to prevent the study from being completed or even started. His never-ending tripping behaviors can be indications of his hard work. He wanted to hold a position in the educational system. His reason was because “he is a descendent of a Masters-of-the-Land clan,” whose previous generations “had been ruling the region.” In making such a clan-based claim, he was claiming legitimacy based on clan seniority.

However, as conveyed in blessing rituals, considering oneself as a generation of one’s ancestors entails “creativity and morality.” That is, it includes “knowing and following the rules of the ancestors” including “a strict responsibility for right behavior” (Allen, 1995, p. 132). Being creative and moral demands hard work with all of the risks and challenges involved in it, as demonstrated in the bullfight and the fetching of the powerful water in the blessing ritual (Bloch, 1986). In other words, it is neither a work-free nor a value-free status. Added to this, by claiming legitimacy out of clan seniority, one is claiming a “father-son” relationship, a central idea of Merina kinship, which involves “the combination of obedience to fathers and blessings of children” (Bloch, 1989, p. 138). That is, it is a two-way relationship: The former depends on the latter, and vice versa. If either is absent, then the relationship is void. Besides, giving a blessing is the role of *raiamandreny* – respected, knowledgeable, and wise adults (Keenan, 1974). These are the individuals that lead a Malagasy traditional community:

“Decisions which affect a family or the community are usually handled by these *ray-aman-dreny*” and “village leadership is not fixed with any one particular individual” (Keenan, 1973, p. 126). The above clearly indicates the kind of legitimate leaders as related to Malagasy cultural values: Individuals who embody the wisdom and fertility of the ancestors, and moral and productive individuals who observe the strict responsibility for right behavior in the community. Such individuals *receive* the respect of the community rather than *self-appropriate* themselves of the respect of the community. Additionally, they *collaborate* with others because leadership is *shared* rather than controlled by one individual (Keenan, 1974). This appears to be how individuals in the Ambohitsaraianana community conceive of the qualities of individuals having the status of *raiamandreny* – leaders of the community. The statements related to hard work and leader contained in Ms. Raivo’s and Ms. Zandry’s diaries mentioned above, as well as students’ comments on the traditional approach and their teacher’s (“disconnected and unable-to-capture-students’ hearts”) behaviors discussed in part one of this chapter, confirm the above argument. These qualities of *raiamandreny* as leaders closely match the type of leadership advocated by Sergiovanni (1994): leadership in communities in which “it is the authority of virtue not the power of position that licenses one to lead. Virtue is embedded in what a community shares and in its collective wisdom” (p. 201).

The point being made is as follows: Given the above, it appears that Mr. Nasolo disregarded this concept of leadership in Ambohitsaraianana at least in two respects. First, it appears that he wanted to operate within the Malagasy idea of seniority hierarchy, but seemed to be unwilling to fulfill the responsibility required by this status. Second, he

seems to want to appropriate a position of power while it is still occupied. These seem to indicate that his goal was to gain power by imposition, which corresponds to “bureaucratic and personal authority” (Sergiovanni, 1994, p. 198). This type of leadership, however, is in opposition to the traditional leadership presented above. It is a type paralleled to outsiders’ imposition of their rules over the community whose realization in Ambohitsaraianana was strongly negated by Mr. Nasolo in his diary. It is also the type of coercive ruling imposed from outside that Malagasy people rejected because of their conviction that such a ruling is “in fact parasitical” on them. It is the type of the ruling that Malagasy viewed as a betrayal, leading to their “violent revolt” in the past (Allen, 1995, p. 134). It follows from the above, that it is highly likely that the community of Ambohitsaraianana viewed Mr. Nasolo’s forceful action of appropriating a position of power as a triple violation of Malagasy social norms of behaviors: First, it is a confrontation of those in the position, individuals considered as *raiamandreny*, respected adults in the community. Second, it is a sign of disrespect toward the ancestors. Third, it is a coercive behavior of an insider individual exercised upon the insider community, which violates the key notion of moral relations in kinship. As such, it can be categorized as a betrayal motivated by a personal, parasitical intention.

In response, the community possibly wanted to outcast him as an individual, just like the family in Namoizamanga who was “physically cut off from most village social life” by sisal shrubs placed across a path to block the passage because it had offended other members of the village (Keenan, 1974, p. 127). Before opting for such a drastic public censure, however, the Ambohitsaraianana community could have preferred to pin

point concrete evidence or more incidents, and had someone else “in education” do so. If he happens to confront this person who is a *vahiny* – a guest or foreigner, censuring his behavior in such a case would give them more ground for his rejection. Indeed, censure to a direct confrontation to a *vahiny* would mean defense of both the individual and preservation of the dignity of the community. Therefore, it would exclude any individual or group within the community from the conflict. Confrontation of a *vahiny*, indeed, is usually censured on the spot, even if it is children who initiate it (Keenan, 1974).

Requests from some students’ parents to participate in the study with the high school personnel seems to confirm this argument: It was as though they wanted to witness any incident that might occur during the study so that they could intervene. “Protective behaviors” exhibited by community members particularly around the time of the Public Conflict, even outside the city of Ambohitsaraianana, are consistent with the above argument.

All of the above indicate a critical role played by cultural elements and individual social realities in the innovation introduction. People “may work on organizational tasks, but they never work *only* on organizational tasks. They also work on whatever personal and social needs are important to them” (Bolman & Deal, 1991, p. 135). Also, change initiators can be placed in a ritual situation of great risks and violence, suggesting the need to consider the culture of the community where change is to be introduced. Further, change has to address participants’ concerns on both its technical soundness and social soundness, although there will be some that cannot be fully addressed. Changes can “fail

because those at the top overemphasize (technical) rationality” (Bolman & Deal, 1991, p. 402).

Theme 4: Cooperative Consciousness-Raising as an Effective

Technique for Concern Arousal

The fourth theme that emerged from the data concerns the cooperative consciousness-raising as an effective technique for concern arousal as measured by the presence or absence of behavior adjustment from abandonment of old to embracement of new behaviors, as a result of detection of disconnectedness or incoherence within the former behaviors. It has three components: (a) Meaning Building, (b) Partial Adoption, and (c) Adoption.

Meaning Building

The change literature is clear about the importance of shared meaning for the change audience to embrace the innovation being introduced or advocated (Evans, 1996; Fullan, 1991). The cooperative consciousness-raising curricular unit utilized for the Teacher Training in this research used Piaget’s developmental theory as its primary foundational framework.

Three fundamental factors underlying the concern arousal technique were technical soundness, social soundness, and informed choice. There were three clusters used as the base of the cooperative consciousness-raising technique: (a) the Malagasy student cluster, (b) the learning theories cluster, and (c) the research study findings in cooperative learning cluster.

The Malagasy student cluster constituted the social rationale framework, and the other two constituted the technical rationale framework of the cooperative consciousness-raising learning technique.

The main goal of the Teacher Training was to indicate that the innovation is socially rational or sound, and it is also technically rational or sound. In addition, these frameworks were linked to show that they were congruent. Of great importance is the fact that the social rationale framework was shared by participants. During the whole field study, and more than a year later, I had been engaged in sharing these ideas of double rationality and connectedness between the social and technical frameworks with participants in order to build a shared meaning. Conversely, participants were assisted in becoming aware of the absence of framework used as a base of their teaching approaches, or if they said there was one, they would be required to demonstrate its connections with the learner. If they were unable make any connection, it would mean that there is disconnectedness between their framework and the learner world, or the shared values. An indication of such disconnectedness would suggest incongruence and is likely to negatively impact learners.

The rationale was then to assist participants in re-constructing their meaning of their teaching approaches to help them construct their meaning of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. This is so because it presupposed that the meanings of both need to be shared in order for participants to abandon the former and embrace the latter. This would mean that their concerns about their teaching practices are aroused.

Data indicated that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is an effective technique for this concern arousal.

The Meaning Building sub-theme includes behaviors that indicate questioning of the status quo and elements related to it. It involves noticing of disconnectedness of the school from the larger community, of teaching from learning, and of personal assumptions or perceptions from reality

The following is an example of noticing school-community disconnectedness:

The teacher's desk and students' forms shouldn't be arranged face to face because that can indicate confrontation: This idea makes me ask the following question: 'Indeed, why are meetings at higher levels conducted around round tables, unlike in classrooms?'
(Haja: diary: 05-05-99)

Mr. Haja's question clearly indicates that activity discussions raised his awareness of the fact that sitting arrangements in classrooms are different from those outside school, particularly sitting arrangements at *higher* level meetings. This suggests that, although he had worked in classrooms, and known about round table meetings outside school, he had failed to notice this difference and the possible messages that types of sitting arrangement can convey. The cooperative consciousness-raising practice was apparently able to assist in arousing his concerns about them.

The following is an example of noticing of negative impact of behaviors on students with teaching-learning disconnectedness as a possible reason:

One's behaviors, when compared to what behaviors should be exhibited as related to the multiple intelligences that students could have, made one cogitate. They [i.e., multiple intelligences] haven't been given much weight while teaching. Is it because of the new teaching practice? Or is one too much driven by habit? Or are these really needed now that it's noticed that there is no sign of thirst for learning in students any longer? I'd like to see what follows!

(Raivo: diary: 05-05-99)

These statements clearly show that Ms. Raivo was becoming aware of her failure to give importance to key learning elements in her teaching. Apparently, she was reflecting on reasons why she had not thought about multiple intelligences, revealing a discrepancy or disconnectedness between her teaching and students' learning. In order to have answers to her aroused concerns, she would like to "see what follows."

The following are examples of noticing assumptions/perceptions-reality disconnectedness:

Oh, my GO-O-O-O-D! So that's what's called 'learner-centered' [approach] hein! Unexpected, I haven't expected even a tiny bit of that!
(Raivo, portrayal, p. 108)

This reaction of Ms. Raivo's is a sample of surprises exhibited by participants. It clearly indicates that she is realizing that she had a misconception of learner-centered teaching. That is, she is noticing disconnectedness between what she thought or believed and the true meaning of learner-centeredness. This indicates the power of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to disturb existing misconceptions or untested assumptions, and to simultaneously assist in concept reconstruction.

It was evidenced by the proverbs that Malagasy people had their ways of educating [children]. I'm among educators that totally accept that teaching practices with collaboration, and giving students responsibilities, are good.
(Haja: diary)

Mr. Haja is clearly aware of educational tendencies reflected in proverbs. Apparently, he is noticing and agreeing that collaborative work is a better practice for Malagasy students, suggesting awareness of discrepancies between learner characteristics and teaching practices being adopted in school. This shows the ability of the cooperative

consciousness-raising practice to assist the audience in utilizing shared values as the basis for re-conceptualization.

The variety of drawings and explanations is additional evidence of the multiple intelligences discussed before; that is, all the groups started with the same materials and ideas, but each group had its own way of showing and explaining its products.
(Raivo: portrayal, p. 106)

This statement indicates that Ms. Raivo is strengthening her meaning of multiple intelligences. This reveals the power of the spiral design of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice in assisting in meaning building.

This [technique] doesn't work for the teaching of the Malagasy language.
(Raivo: portrayal, p. 108)

When I conducted the implementation [of the jigsaw], the group work was very successful. The kids are really able to explore, and their work is a lot better than what they do as homework.
(Raivo: letter dated 04-17-00)

These statements clearly exhibit a shift or change of point of view or perspective. Indeed, Ms. Raivo thought that the jigsaw would not work for the teaching of her subject matter, that is, the Malagasy language. In fact, she indicated that group work is not needed for this subject area during her first interview. The second statement, as well as many remarks recorded in her diary, indicates an abandonment of her previous assumptions or beliefs about group work. These point to the capability of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to disconfirm wrong assumptions in a fairly short time to assist in meaning building.

And those guys are showing off by speaking without reading? Hein? Showing off that they know how to speak English [something that one does not expect]?
(Nasolo, portrayal, p. 124)

I was surprised that students that usually don't speak unexpectedly did speak.
(Manga, interview 2)

These remarks are clear indications of Mr. Nasolo's surprise about students' abilities to speak without the help written notes, as well as Ms. Manga's surprise about the abilities of learners that usually do not speak in her traditional class to speak. These indicate the effectiveness of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to assist the audience in discovering answers to concerns or problems they raised on their own by having them witness concrete evidence of the innovation better quality.

Currently, with the curricular pedagogy, you don't teach via those lesson-giving (techniques) any longer. You base what you want to get on kids' characteristics, behaviors, and participation... It is a program or pedagogy centered on students... Nothing reflects you in it, even a bit.
(Raivo, interview 1)

The truth is that when I asked questions [to students with my old approach], it was whatever I wanted them to say that I forced them to focus on. So, it was not what they had inside themselves that they exteriorized but what I had in my mind... But here [with the jigsaw], there is no need for those 'grand-speech-free-of-[student]-participation'[techniques] over there [far away] in the front any longer... Their [students'] answers are truly from inside themselves...it is really what is inside them that they bring outside.
(Raivo, interview 3)

These explanations of her *former* method and the *new* method reveal Ms. Raivo's understanding of the true meaning of the former as compared to the latter. The explanation of the former during her first interview indicates that, prior to her experiences with the innovation, she was convinced that her then method was *truly* learner-centered. Her explanations during her third interview clearly indicate an opposite meaning of the same method: Now, she equates it to *formal* and *ceremonial* speeches that *exclude* audience participation. Now, it is a method that requires students to give answers in her

mind, or a method based on “*display* questions—that is, questions whose overriding purpose is to have learners produce information already known to the asker” (Gaies, 1985, p. 15) who is the teacher in the present case. In this sense, Ms. Raivo is apparently aware that, actually, her former method reflected *only* her as a teacher in contradiction of what she said before, that is, “nothing reflects you [the teacher] in it, even a bit.” The new method, which, before, was “not needed for the Malagasy language teaching” is now “truly learner-centered” as it allows “students to exteriorize what they have inside themselves.” These examples are compelling evidence of the power of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to assist the audience in pinpointing key elements to be re-conceptualized via a least confrontational strategy. That is, it attempts to lead them to confront their own assumptions, concerns, and teaching behaviors without engaging them in argumentative confrontations and fierce criticisms.

These noticing behaviors indicate that participants were building the meaning of the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice. By noticing disconnectedness in various areas of their teaching methods, they were re-visiting their prior meaning of these approaches. Linked to that, they were re-conceptualizing what teaching actually is or should be in relation to learners and learning. With the help of the cooperative learning as an alternative, they were expected to embrace it when the re-conceptualization is more or less stabilized.

Partial Adoption

The following are indications of partial adoption of new behaviors related to the innovation:

Something that I noticed today was that I kind of imitated the way Sahoby speaks and behaves while I was teaching. It just happened like that.
(Zandry: diary: 05-07-99)

Efforts [are being] made to apply what we've learnt from the training in class, at home, in social interactions, etc.
(Zandry: diary: 05-22-99)

I noticed that life in general has improved, whether it is in class or at home because there is no rejection or trashing off of others' opinions, etc.
(Zandry: diary: 05-27-99)

These statements indicate that Zandry's adoption of behaviors that were present during training sessions. Apparently, they were either unconscious or monitored. These appear to be impacts of both the informal or hidden curriculum and the formal curriculum integrated in the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. Indeed, both were utilized to maximize meaning building and learning.

The following are partial adoption of elements in the innovation:

I had my students work in groups. I told them, 'you'll have to sort things out yourselves.'
(Rakoto, Researcher Notebook)

Ms. Manga tried to have her students work in groups. But she divided her class in two, and she taught half of the class at a time.
(Telephone Communication: Raivo and Joro: 05-00)

These statements indicate teacher's trials or partial adoption of the innovation. They are integral parts of the change process (Fullan, 1991). Through trial and error, individuals can adjust and refine their behaviors at their own pace as they build meanings and confidence in adopting the innovation in its entirety.

Adoption of the Innovation

Adoption of the innovation relates to use of significant elements involved in the jigsaw practice together, including expert team, jigsaw team, group roles, and group product. The following is an example of adoption as a trial:

I tried [the jigsaw] in the Malagasy subject area. The implementation was not very well organized, however, because of time constraint. Nonetheless, several students have mastered the way it works. So that keeps hope alive. It's believed that things will go smooth later.
(Raivo: diary: 06-17-99)

These post-trial comments reveal that Ms. Raivo is aware that having students work in jigsaw groups requires planning. These are indications that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice invites the audience to discover its key elements on their own. That is, this practice attempts to offer experiences for discovery.

The following are examples of systematic use of jigsaw for the teaching of certain types of topics:

Those [two teachers] in history-geography have been using the jigsaw for certain topics.
(Telephone Communication: Joro: 05-00)

The following represent systematic uses of jigsaw for a subject area:

When I conducted the implementation (of the jigsaw), group work was very successful. The kids are really able to explore, and their work is a lot better than what they do as homework. They are really able to find many things. But up till now, I haven't been able to have them design visual materials. But it (jigsaw) is really good. Kids are able to collaborate very easily.
(Raivo: letter dated 04-17-00)

I have been using the jigsaw. It works very well, but I'm trying to think about different ways that students can use to display their group products because it takes them a lot of time to design drawings on posters.
(Raivo: telephone communication: 05-00)

We had CPE (staff development) on November 2000. The principal asked me to lead the workshop [on jigsaw]. I led it based on how I implement it in the

Malagasy language classes and I showed them [the teachers] its success in my subject area. Mine is very successful in grades 10, 11, and 12. Zandry has also been using it [in her math classes], and it's also very successful. There were 10 of us who participated, and everybody said that they would use it, but we'll see. (Raivo: letter dated 12-19-00)

These statements reveal continuous use of the innovation for more than one and a half years after the completion of the implementation. Ms. Raivo's continuous efforts and willingness to find substitutes to elements of concern to her reveals that she is very likely to continue to adopt and improve it. The fact that she and Ms. Zandry have been using it in all of their classes indicates their confidence in its use. It also shows that the innovation can be used for the teaching of different subject areas, leading 10 teachers to decide to come to the workshop. These confirm the power of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice to facilitate the shifting process given the little post-experimentation direct technical assistance provided to the teachers.

In sum, these data suggest that the cooperative consciousness-raising is an effective technique to arouse the participants' concerns about inconsistencies between their values and their teaching behaviors, between their assumptions and the reality, and about weaknesses of their teaching practices. Once their concerns are aroused, it appears that they begin to embrace the innovation. That is, this practice can assist them in discovering the meanings of both their own practices and the innovation in a fairly short time period.

This shifting process, however, appears to be very personal. Indeed, participants seem to follow different paths: Some attend to their way of talking and behaving first, others use group work without much formal planning first, still others feel the need to try

it out in the presence of the initiator before engaging in systematic use, still others use it selectively, and still others need rehearsal reinforcement. These clearly show that meaning construction is personal (Piaget, 1977), and change, as a meaning re-construction or re-conceptualization, is also personal. That is why it can vary “within the same person as well as within a group” (Fullan, 1991, p. 40). It is maintained that the apparent success of the innovation introduction is strongly linked to its ability to assist participants in their knowledge construction as related to the innovation being introduced.

First, consistent with Piaget’s developmental theory, the cooperative consciousness-raising practice posits that change is a *shifting* process. This is so because it involves learning something new (Fullan, 1991) *based* on something old. Therefore, it entails a shift from one behavior to another. For a shift to occur, one needs to know both the starting point and which direction to go. That is, one needs to be aware of both. More often than not, however, school practitioners (and even change initiators) are unaware of the *starting* point, which is the old practice to be changed or modified, based on shared values that are conserved. Indeed, many teachers are unaware of the nature or rationale of their behaviors, and their negative impacts on learners and learning (Good, & Brophy, 2000). To assist the audience of change to become aware of their practices and of what needs changed in them, change initiators need to know and articulate what exactly the change targets and why. The same knowledge and ability to articulate also concern the innovation audience. When the audience knows exactly these starting points and shifting directions, they are more likely to compare their approaches with the innovation being advocated used as an alternative as related to shared values. Once they

become clear about elements contributing to better results, it would be easier for them to engage in the re-conceptualization, and make informed decisions.

The rationale underlying the need for the audience of change to be aware of and compare both practices is the need for conservation for transformation to take place in Piaget's theory. Because knowledge is constructed on previous knowledge, learners need to know about the former and its meaning. In the case of awareness, the old concept is re-constructed to be assimilated into the cognitive structures. *Shared* values/beliefs are *conserved*, or unchanged, to allow transformation. In other words, the old/existing knowledge is restructured in order for a reintegration of the concept and a reorganization of structures to occur, allowing conflicts to be resolved, and via use of shared values as the guiding foundation. If nothing is conserved, then, the product, if any, can be unintelligible to the learner (Piaget, 1948/1972/1973).

To accelerate awareness, and to preserve consistency, the audience is engaged in activities related to the innovation being advocated. This would allow them to experience being students under the innovation conditions. In so doing, they will be aware of intellectual, affective, social, and moral impacts of the innovation on students. At the same time, they are invited to reflect on their own teaching practices and compare various elements believed important for the shift to occur. This would help them understand the possible impacts of taken-for granted teaching behaviors on students and abandon or modify them accordingly.

For change initiators to assist their audience in the process, needs assessment is crucial. It is contended that knowledge of specific needs of participants in this study

played a critical role in the success of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice. These needs were particularly related to elements important enough to have triggered the introduction of the innovation. They were based on the foundational framework of the innovation. Therefore, the needs were depicted based on the incongruence of these elements with the framework and shared values/beliefs.

After the audience of change has lived through the learning experiences, the innovation is implemented with their own students. This enables them to witness how it works with their clients. This is very important in that the main goal of change is the improvement of student outcomes. Teachers need to know what their students can obtain from change.

Another key element of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is its social foundation. In the present study, this foundation was crucial because it was a source of shared values with the target of change. Indeed, people tend to resist and even reject an innovation that threatens their core value (Evans, 1996; Fullan, 1991). Using shared values/beliefs as conservation would minimize resistance to or rejection of the innovation.

A last significant characteristic of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is the consistency between the various foundations on which it is based. That is, its learner-centered nature requires that its social rationale is related to learners' world—their community or family culture and their age group. This is in turn in congruence with the learning theories employed. Further, research findings were utilized to identify elements that need to be addressed in practice. In other words, the design of this practice

was both horizontal and spiral. The former relates to integration of content from different fields/areas, and the former to reintroduction of concepts in various manifestations at various learning stages (see above examples).

In sum, the success of cooperative consciousness-raising practice to arouse teachers' concerns about the need to abandon their old practices and adopt the innovation appears related to the use of Piaget's developmental theory as its foundational framework. This framework allows to address social, intellectual, and affective needs of learners. It can help audience of change to reflect on their own teaching practices and their impacts on learners, and experience learning under the new teaching practice conditions. This would enable them to use the old practice as a base for knowledge reconstruction and structure reorganization as related to the conserved shared values/beliefs. Implementation of the innovation with actual students can greatly help teachers witness their own students' experiences under the new teaching condition.

This technique is very similar to Miles' (1990) T-group "process-analytic learning" (p. 219) which "triggers self-awareness, catharsis, reorientation" (p. 218). It is also similar to Schein's (1985) unfreezing technique which emphasizes debates for truth discovery, constantly challenges dysfunctional elements of old assumptions, prevents exit, and enables reorientation through offer of new information to allow cognitive redefinition to take place.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This research is unique at least in three respects. First, it utilized a multi-method approach including within- and between-method approaches. Second, it investigated important issues in two major areas including teaching practices in the field of second/foreign language pedagogy, and change in the area of education in general. Third it integrated two studies, one quantitative and the other qualitative.

First, the use of within- and between-method approaches (Denzin, 1978) enabled the present research to provide with a wealth of information that a single method would not be able to provide. Indeed, experimental studies can only addressed a few variables at a time, but can provide with “unimpeachable evidence on whether or not an independent variable causes differences in a dependent variable” (Porter, 1988, p. 408). On the other hand, qualitative studies are able to consider “many variables simultaneously” many of which having the potential to influence the behaviors of individuals involved. Use of both, therefore, provided with data related to both the products and processes of an educational intervention.

Second, the present research addressed issues related to the teaching of pragmatics in the area of second/foreign language pedagogy, an area of increasing concern for language educators, practicing teachers, teacher education, and

researchers in intercultural communication. For this, it utilized a cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice, an innovative teaching technique, for the teaching of American English requestive behaviors to Malagasy learners of English. It used Piaget's developmental theory as its primary foundational framework, a framework which allowed to resolve inconsistencies present in the second/foreign language literature related to a consciousness-raising approach for the teaching of pragmatics. Thus, it situated this field within the broad field of education, suggesting that second/foreign language learning and teaching is and should be an integral part of education.

Its use of Piaget's theory further posits that knowledge is constructed by learners, and teaching envisages three major components of the learners: intellectual, socio-moral, and affective. As such, the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice is centered on learners and their learning experiences, and corresponds to Gardner's (1979) socio-educational model of second/foreign language teaching in classroom settings. For the teaching of pragmatics, it is a best translation of Kramsch's (1993) language classroom as a simulation of a field study in ethnographic investigations, and of Meier's (1997) anthropological awareness-raising approach. It refutes prescriptivism which is a form of knowledge imposition and socio-moral coercion within Piaget's theory.

The cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice also posits that becoming aware, in Piagetian term, is a process of re-organization of existing

cognitive structures rather than a mere evocation or translation of unconscious elements. As such, it uses learners' existing knowledge as elements to be *conserved* to allow a conceptual reconstruction. Thus, it refutes the exclusion of learners' knowledge of cultural values in their native language as these are among the elements kept *unchanged*. These elements form the base of reconstruction and enable a reintegration of concepts into their cognitive structures, as well as a reorganization of their cognitive structures to occur allowing conflicts to be resolved.

The results of Study One, an investigation of the (in)effectiveness of the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice to impact learners' pragmatic competence in American English requestive behaviors as compared to their traditional English classroom teaching approach, indicated that it is significantly better as related to the following dependent variables: (a) abilities to identify and describe linguistic differences between American English and Malagasy requestive behaviors, (b) abilities to relate those differences to underlying cultural values in the two communities, and (c) abilities to produce appropriate and varied American English requests in function of contexts.

Analyses of participant-provided quantitative data on evaluative questionnaires also revealed that the cooperative consciousness-raising practice is significantly better able to impact learners' socio-affective and cognitive attributes, as well as their skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing

English, as compared to their traditional English classroom. Qualitative data still provided by informants gave complementary information related to which elements and characteristics of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice positively impacted learners' attributes, and which elements and characteristics of the traditional approach negatively influenced them, from their own perspectives and their teacher's. These data indicate that students and their English teacher have more positive attitudes toward the former practice as compared to the latter method.

These findings support Haynes and Gebreyesus's (1991) and Soldier's (1989, 1992) suggestions that cooperative learning can be particularly beneficial for students coming from a socio-cultural milieu which values sharing with and helping each other. They also confirm the ability of this practice to yield positive and multiple language learners' outcomes (Doughty & Pica, 1986; Gaies, 1985; Simpson, 1990), and the ability of an exploratory consciousness-raising practice to facilitate learners' pragmatic competence development in both native and target language speech act behaviors (Kramsch, 1993, Meier, 1996, 1997, 1999; Schmidt & Richards, 1980).

Despite the technical effectiveness of the cooperative consciousness-raising teaching practice in affecting students' performances in American English requestive behaviors, as well as their teacher's and their more positive attitudes toward it than toward their traditional English class, results obtained from Study

Two indicated that participants' desirability to adopt it was also dependent on their personal social realities, the third issue addressed in the present research.

The third issue concerns change in the field of education. Study Two investigated reactions of participants to the introduction of the cooperative consciousness-raising practice into their high school. Outsider and insider perspectives were utilized to analyze and interpret the data. Four major themes emerged from these analyses and interpretations: (a) The Confrontation-Public Censure Chain with the following sub-themes: Sticking Together Like a Rock, The Public Conflict, and Splitting Like Sand; (b) Desirability of the innovation as a correlation between perceived degree of resistance and social memberships; (c) The Blessing Ritual; and (d) The cooperative consciousness-raising technique as an effective tool to arouse participants' concerns.

These results indicate that participants seemed to evaluate the innovation on the basis of its technical soundness and its social soundness. In other words, technical soundness alone did not enable eliminate resistance to the innovation although it appears to play a significant role in assisting participants resolve some of their personal concerns. Equally important was the soundness of the innovation as related to shared cultural values within the larger community. Another aspect of the social component appears to be personal social soundness. That is, from an outsider perspective, individual participants also tended to measure the social soundness of the innovation based on their own personal and

private social realities as related to the cumulative losses or gains of their kin-groups. This led to the existence of two majors opposing groups particularly as regard those who were members of several social groups. The magnitude of perceived resistance to or support for the innovation introduction appeared related to participants' responsibilities toward each of their kin-groups as informed by their cultural values. This seemed rendered complicated by the interrelationships between these groups as the losses or gains were cumulative.

Also significant was the culturally-bound behaviors exhibited by participants. From an insider perspective, participants seemed to perform a blessing ritual. This led to aggressive behaviors similar to the conquest of the power of wild beings in the blessing rituals in the highlands of Madagascar, on the one hand, and greatly cooperative behaviors, on the other.

The results of this research as a whole reveal that the technical rationale of the innovation alone does not guarantee that change audience is willing to embrace it even when they personally recognize and witness its effectiveness compared to their own teaching practices. Social rationale or soundness also appears to play a critical role in their decision to adopt it. Each participant appeared to evaluate these two types of soundness in a very personal manner by shifting from their own practices toward adoption of the new practice following very different paths, starting at different times, and beginning with different elements. These suggest that knowledge construction,

reconstruction/reorganization, or both, is very personal during the process of becoming aware (Piaget, 1977), a process which would enable individuals to shift from old practices to new ones. All of this suggests the need to depict participants' personal needs, both social and technical to facilitate the shifting process.

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APPENDIX A

Initial Research Questions

Study One

- 1. How do students' abilities to identify differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors differ as a function of instructional method?**
- 2. How do students' abilities to relate differences between Malagasy and American requestive behaviors to underlying cultural values/beliefs in the two communities differ as a function of instructional method?**
- 3. How do students' abilities to produce appropriate and varied American requestive behaviors in different contexts differ as a function of instructional method?**
- 4. How do interactions in the cooperative consciousness-raising and traditional practice classes differ as a function of instructional method?**
- 5. What are English students' attitudes toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?**
- 6. What is the English teacher's attitude toward the classroom value of cooperative consciousness-raising compared with traditional teaching/learning approaches?**

Study Two

- 7. What are attitudes of Malagasy and history-geography toward cooperative learning and their traditional teaching approaches?**
- 8. What are attitudes of students of Malagasy and history-geography toward cooperative learning and the traditional methods in their regular classes?**
- 9. How do interactions in the Malagasy and history-geography cooperative learning and traditional classrooms differ as a function of instructional method?**

APPENDIX B

Takilam-Panekena: Mpianatra

Ry mpandray anjara hajaina,

Ity fikarohana ity dia atao mba hanampy antsika amin'ny fahalalana ny fahombiazana na tsy fahombiazan'ny fomba fampianarana/fianarana. Raha manaiky handray anjara ianao dia hitaky ny hampianatra anao fahaizana ilaina amin'ny lahasa sy fanadinana aho. Ambonin'izay dia hangataka anao hameno fahadihadiana sy haka fanadinana aho. Tsapako fa tena zava-dehibe hanampy ny inpanabe malagasy amin'ny fahazoana bebe kokoa ny fiantrakan'ny fomba fampianarana samy hafa ity soritrasam-pikarohana ity.

Tsy misy tambiny ny fandraisanao anjara. Ny hany mety hanelingelina anao dia ny fisiana mpandinika ao an'efitra fianarana sy/na fankanesana any an-tsekoly amin'ny ora ivelan'ny fandaharam-potoana ara-dalana. Tsy hisy zava-miafina manokana momba anao ho anontaniana. Afaka tsy mamaly fanontaniana izay heverinao fa mikasika anao manokana ianao ary afaka mijanona tsy mandray anjara raha tianao.

Ho tazoniko hanaovako fanadihadiana sy fandalinana izay valim-panontaniana omenao amin'ny fanadihadiana sy fitsapam-pahaizana. Ny anaranao sy ny zava-drehetra mety haneho ny momba anao dia tsy hitranga amin'ny rakitra. Mety hisy valim-panontaniana ho jere-na mpikambana ao amin'ny vaomieram-pikarohana ao amin'ny anjerimanontolo misy ahy, ary mety hampiasa tosa-teny aho amin'ny fikarohako. Na izany aza dia tsy ho avoaka ny momba anao manokana.

Raha misy fanontaniana momba ny soritrasam-pikarohana sy zavatra azon'ny mpandray anjara fantarina dia afaka manontany ny Mpandrindra ny Olona Mpandray Anjara (Human Subjects Coordinator), University of Northern Iowa, telefaonina 319-273-2177 ianao. Raha te-hiresaka na hametraka fanontaniana amiko ianao dia afaka miantso ahy ao amin'ny XXX, na manoratra an-tendrilavitra amin'ny XXX.

Mahalala ny mombamomba sy haben'ity soritrasam-pikarohana ity aho araka ny voalaza eo ambony. Manaiky ny handray anjara amin'ny soritrasam-pikarohana ity aho, ary manana dika amin'ity fanekena ity.

(Sonian'ny Mpandray anjara)

(Anaran'ny Mpandray anjara: sora-baventy)

(Sonian'ny Mpikaroka)

Informed Consent Form: Students

Dear Participant,

This research study proposes to help our understanding of the (in)effectiveness of teaching/learning approaches. If you agree to participate, I will request to train you in skills needed for some classroom activities and in test taking. In addition, I will request you to fill out a questionnaire and/or take an achievement test. I feel that this project is very important to help Malagasy educators to better understand what the impact of different approaches are.

There is no compensation for your participation. The discomfort that may be experienced is the presence of observers in some of your classes, and/or coming to school outside your regular schedule. No confidential information will be asked. Your participation will be voluntary and you have the right to refuse to answer questions and/or withdraw from the study at any time.

Your answers to the questionnaire and/or achievement test will be kept for my analysis. Neither your name nor any information that could identify you will appear on the record. Members of my dissertation committee might look at some of the answers, and I might use quotations in this study. However, in no case will your identity be revealed.

For answers to questions about the research project or the rights of research participants, you may contact the office of the Human Subjects Coordinator, University of Northern Iowa, Iowa, at 319-273-2177. To contact me, call Sahoby S. Raharinirina at XXX, or e-mail me at XXX.

I am fully aware of the nature and extend of my participation in this project as stated above. I agree to participate in this project. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this consent statement.

(Participant's signature)

(Printed name of Participant)

(Signature of investigator)

Appendix C
Sample Test Item

IDENTIFICATION SECTION

Test Item 1:

INSTRUCTIONS: Based on the Anglo American English and Malagasy requests provided in the situation below, please answer the letter on page 2. Suppose this letter is from your American friend who lives in Cedar Falls, Iowa, U. S. A.. Make sure that you answer **all of his/her questions clearly** so that he/she will not have to ask them again in the future. The beginning of your letter is already on page 3. Please continue it to give your answer. If you need more sheets of paper, please feel free to take what you need from the pile on the table in the front.

Suppose the following are requests that you collected in Malagasy and American English:

In American English: Situation: At home

A student asks his/her roommate to clean up the kitchen the latter had left in a mess the night before. He/she says:

“Would you please clean up after yourself? I don’t appreciate the kitchen left like that.”

In Malagasy: Seho: Ao an-trano

Miara-mipetraka ireto mpianatra roa. Nampiasa ny lakozia ny iray halina. Tian’ny iray handio ny lakozia izay nolotoiny ilay nandoto. Hoy izy:

“Mba diovy leitsy io trano io fa maloto fa raha tonga eo i Neny dia bedy aho!”

(lit. “Please dear be this kitchen cleaned up because (it’s) dirty, because if Mom comes (here), I’ll be scolded.”)

Cedar Falls, June

Dear _____,

As I told you before, I'm taking a "communication" class. I have to write a paper for it and chose a topic about "communication problem." As I was thinking about how I can deal with my paper, I remembered that you had collected data from American English and Malagasy requests for one of your classes. I thought it would be a great idea to write my paper based on some of your findings. So, I would like to ask if you could do me a favor by answering the following:

- 1. What differences did you find in the ways Malagasy and Americans make requests in terms of linguistic means? I would like to have two differences.*
- 2. What are Malagasy and Anglo American underlying values and/or beliefs that are reflected in these two linguistic differences?*
- 3. How are these underlying cultural values and/or beliefs connected to the linguistic means used in each community? In other words, why do you think the speakers chose these linguistic means to convey their requests as related to underlying cultural values in Malagasy and American? I would like to have one cultural value or belief that is related to each of the linguistic differences that you found.*
- 4. What different and/or additional interpretation(s) would there be if the corresponding linguistic strategies used by the Malagasy speaker were used in American English in the same situation? OR, what different or additional interpretation(s) would there be if the corresponding strategies used by the Anglo American speaker were used in Malagasy in the same situation?*

Thank you very much for your help. I really appreciate it. I will be glad to return the favor.

*Love,
(signature)*

Ambohitsaraiaiana,

Dear _____,

Thank you for your letter. I'm delighted to answer your questions. Here are what I found about the data I collected in Malagasy and American English requests:

1.

Appendix D

Sample Student Questionnaire Items

Name: _____

Group: _____

1. I **voluntarily** participate in my **regular** English class.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)
--------------	------------------	---------------------	-----------------	-------------------

Comment and/or justify: _____

2. I **voluntarily** participated in the **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)
--------------	------------------	---------------------	-----------------	-------------------

Comment and/or justify: _____

3. I like the **way** I am taught English in my **regular** English class.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)
--------------	------------------	---------------------	-----------------	-------------------

Comment and/or justify: _____

4. I like the **way** I was taught English in **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)
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Comment and/or justify: _____

Appendix E

Sample Teacher Questionnaire Items

Name: _____

PART I: STUDENTS AND LEARNING

1. Students **voluntarily** participate in my **regular** English classes.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

2. Students **voluntarily** participated in the **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

3. Students like the **way** they are taught English in my **regular** English classes.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

4. Students like the **way** they were taught English in **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

PART II: YOU, AS A TEACHER, AND TEACHING

1. I like the way I teach in my **regular** English classes.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

2. I like the way I taught in the **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

3. I like the **activities** used in my **regular** English classes.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

4. I like the **activities** used in the **cooperative learning** English class during the study.

A lot (4)	Very much (3)	More or less (2)	Not much (1)	Not at all (0)

Comment and/or justify: _____

APPENDIX F
Hira Gasy Performances



Please note the circular shape of the stage and the layers of circles formed by the performers



Please note the layers of circles formed by the audience: those in the front are sitting on the ground and those in the back are standing